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East Berlin's old men batten down hatches

As ageing East German leader Erich Honecker hosted Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov and other official guests at a reception to mark the 40th anniversary of the GDR thousands of demonstrators outside the Palace of the Republic in East Berlin shouted "Gorbi, Come Out", "Gorbi, Help Us" and "We're Staying Here." Police later used force to break up the demonstration. There were reports of similar mass protests, arrests and injuries in Leipzig, Dresden and Potsdam. See articles on refugees from and the state of ferment in the GDR on pages 3 to 5.

East German leader Erich Honecker looked a sorry sight during his speech at the Palace of the Republic commemorating the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

An obviously ill old man tried with a trembling voice to energetically praise, indeed defend, his GDR against imaginary assailants from the Federal Republic of Germany.

This fixation on Bonn, a congenital defect which the East German state has never been able to discard, once again revealed the lack of sovereignty and nationality.

Honecker's speech, in which he presented the GDR to his official Soviet guest as a "bastion against German imperialism," was an agonising stringing together of the dusty Marxist-Leninist conceptual clichés which have maltreated the country's citizens for 40 years and prompted many to leave.

"Ever Forwards — Never Backwards!" are the kind of dogmatic set phrases which have turned the GDR into the tailender of the socialist camp.

The gerontocratic leadership of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) seems unable to move out of this ossified position.

It was the speech of a narrow-minded and dogmatic party bureaucrat confronted by the shambles of his life's work — and this of all days on the day which was planned as the triumph and culmination of it all.

The mass exodus of tens of thousands of East Germans and the fact that hundreds of thousands would follow them if only allowed to do so has hit the SED leader, who views himself as a benefactor of his people, hard.

The refugee drama, pictures of which have been snapped up by the media throughout the world, was noticeably hanging over the celebratory event and forced the self-adulators to engage in incessant criticism of Bonn and controversial comparisons between a "happy youth in the GDR" and the "humbug" in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The fact that a topic which is currently being discussed all over the world was not mentioned directly once by the "Chairman of the Council of State" in his philippics is all the more grotesque.

There was no more than vague criticism of an "unbridled campaign of libel and slander by Bonn, which — in international coordination — is currently being directed by the Federal Republic of Germany against the GDR."

One man against the rest of the world. A tirade of a provincial calibre — no-one walls himself in with impunity for 28 years.

Honecker's speech was followed by the speech of a statesman. With welcome composure after the previous speaker's helpless clamour Mikhail Gorbachov outlined his vision of a changing world.

This no longer focusses on class struggle, but on interaction between wide sections of the population and on international cooperation.

Danger only awaits those who "fail to react to life," said Gorbachov.

The Soviet leader did not bluntly advise the GDR to adopt his reform policy. Yet he left no doubt that socialism must change in order to be able to face the tasks of the future.

He was polite enough to express his belief that the SED has the "intellectual potential" to meet the challenge of what he called a socialist democratisation.

Honecker's face, which the revealing television cameras showed in a close-up as Gorbachov uttered these words, almost seemed transfixed, his eyes half-closed in defiant defence.

Gorbachov did not spare his host further rectifications of his concept of the world.

Praise of his talks with Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl came at a time of pronounced hostility between Bonn and East Berlin,

Only a few days previously Honecker had brusquely refused to talk to Kohl on the phone with the excuse that he had no time before the 40th anniversary celebrations.

Gorbachov's criticism of revanchism in the Federal Republic of Germany was to-the-point and precise.

Such revanchism does indeed exist, but it is certainly not Bonn's policy.



As crack troops paraded through East Berlin (left), police manhandled demonstrators during the GDR's 40th anniversary weekend. (Photo: Sven Simon/Poly-Press)

It is the endearing shortcoming of a free society that outsiders are not prevented from publicly talking nonsense.

What Gorbachov said in public gave *a clear indication of what he probably* said to Honecker in private.

During the torchlight procession of the Freie Deutsche Jugend (FDJ), the SED youth organisation, an exalted Honecker could be seen waving to the right, then to the left, clenching his fist, singing the workers' songs and chanting the propaganda slogans.

With an enraptured smile on his face the 77-year-old enjoyed mingling with youth. It almost looked as if he wanted to show the critical Soviet leader that he does have the future on his side after all.

It was one of those mass rituals in which totalitarian regimes try to suggest unanimity between the rulers and the ruled.

Mikhail Gorbachov, however, is not a man who is easily fooled.

He is only too familiar with such rituals from the days of Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko — old men who were seriously ill and next to whom he stood on the rostra of the Soviet empire.

Relics of Stalinism — just like the extremely militaristic parade on the following day which showed the confronted the Soviet leader with all the instruments of war which he is currently trying to eliminate.

This time Gorbachov seemed reserved and annoyed. Was it really necessary to demonstrate that the GDR is armed to the teeth and militarised to an extent which by far exceeds its economic potential?

The GDR as a museum of the socialist past. But what does the future hold?

It is Honecker's tragedy that he himself initiated an opening up of the GDR to the West and the elimiation of stereotyped enemy concepts against the opposition of die-hard neo-Stalinists in the Politburo.

Now, in the face of an exodus of refugees, he is making every effort to re-establish former taboos against the Federal Republic of Germany and erect yet another wall against its socialist neighbours.

An unusual political opposition is being established behind the protective shield of the Church, a disruptive choir of critics of the official party's monopoly of power.

The conservative hardliners in the party would love to deal with them Peking-style.

Workers' militia branches are threatening to use force to suppress opposition, and the fabricated announcement by the GDR's official news agency ADN that West Berlin radio stations incited GDR citizens to rebellion is a hint as to who could be blamed for a massacre by the security organs.

The warning of the peace movement against provocations by the state should be taken very seriously.

Honecker's era is coming to an end. The hopes of the dogmatists that Gorbachov would fail have not materialised.

However, the temptation to quash the entire "counter-revolution" at one fell brutal swoop undoutedly exists.

This is precisely what happened in Peking after Gorbachov's visit there.

A similar move by the SED, however, would be a direct attack on Gorbachov's reform policy, which would then lose a sizeable chunk of its credibility.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 8 October 1989)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ EASTERN EUROPE

Scaremongering era draws to a close as Warsaw reviews Deutschlandpolitik

The Hungarian loophole in the GDR's border control system not only sent thousands voting with their feet; it also triggered a debate on the future of Germany.

This was rightly noted by the East Berlin correspondent of the Polish Communist Party daily *Trybuna Ludu*, who peered over the Wall and saw "leading politicians from the ruling parties in the Federal Republic" take the exodus of East German refugees to the West as an opportunity to raise the German Question again.

Had he taken the trouble to cast a glance in the opposite direction he would hardly have failed to notice that his fellow-countrymen are devoting no less intensive thought to the Germans.

In Poland too well-known politicians started the ball rolling. Arguments are now casting steadily wider circles in the Polish press.

It began a month ago when Mr Geremek, leader of the Solidarity group in the Sejm, said he was in favour of the Germans reuniting.

Care must be taken to ensure that a reunited Germany was not a threat to any other country, but "above all I feel that the Germans have the right to unity."

He was promptly accused by Communist Party secretary Miller of irresponsibility in foreign affairs, wherepon Adam Michnik, editor-in-chief of the pro-Solidarity daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*, was even more outspoken.

Geremek, he wrote, was right. "It is not just morally right, but advisable from the viewpoint of Polish raison d'étât, to allow the Germans what we claim for ourselves — the right to a state."

The abnormal situation in Germany cast a shadow on German-Polish relations. "If we want to bring about a turning-point in these relations," he wrote, "we must make it clear to the Germans that we are not interested in maintaining the Stalinist system in the GDR."

What Michnik wrote tallied with views that used to be current in the Opposition. The first counterpoint to the Communist Party's Deutschlandpolitik was sounded 10 years ago.

A group calling itself Polish Independence Understanding (PkgpN) and closely linked to the Workers' Defence Committee (KOR) saw a close link between the Germans' desire for self-determination and the Poles' longing for more sovereignty. You couldn't have one without the other.

From what, in those days, was the indispensable anonymity of conspiracy the Opposition thinkers who voiced these views indicated their sympathy with the Germans' desire for unity — provided it ended at the Oder-Neisse line.

These views have since regularly been echoed in the underground press. Increasing attention has been paid to the point that the Communist Party's Deutschlandpolitik made Poland "the watchdog of an outdated order," as Jacek Maziarski once put it.

Official doctrine was based on the simple line of argument that Poland's territorial integrity within its post-war borders was protected only by the pact with the Soviet Union from the West Germans' lust for vengeance.

The Communists established on this groundwork a twofold legitimation of their rule.

It first followed that a non-socialist form of government was out of the question for Poland. It then followed that there was no sounder guarantee of the fraternal pact with Moscow than the Polish Communists.

Their rule was virtually a sine qua non of raison d'état and was incorporated as such in the Polish constitution.

Periodic upsets apart, this state of affairs has always held the key to the fundamental relationship between Warsaw and East Berlin.

The GDR was a bulwark against imperialism, just as the division of Germany was a guarantee of the status quo.

Polish and German Communists disagreed mainly over money. While Herr Honecker was able to maintain his system with the backing of West German capital aid, General Jaruzelski had no such support.

The Polish leaders had to yield to pressure generated by an economic catastrophe of their own making. Not so the GDR's leaders.

In the latest Deutschlandpolitik debate the Communist Party propagandists in Warsaw have found themselves cast in the role of "watchdogs of an outdated order." Some at least can be seen to feel most unhappy in this role.

Ryszard Wojna, for decades one of the Polish United Workers' Party's leading experts on Germany, has performed a daring tight-rope walk.

While conceding that "every nation has an irrevocable right to self-determination" he makes a special proviso, in the Germans' case, that their statehood and the form it takes is the concern of all Europeans, and of their neignhbours in particular.

After the experience Europe has had of united Germanies over the past century the Germans are not to be trusted.

Michnik and Geremek, he says, are merely making believe they are in favour of German reunification. In reality they, and the overwhelming majority of Poles, are opposed to it.

Marian Podkowinski, an old Polish foreign policy hand, will hear nothing of self-determination. "What Will the Germans Want Next?" he asks in the headline of his commentary on the latest round of the debate.

The Germans, he argues, had an opportunity after the war to set up a single state. They made no use of it. The division of Germany into two states is now accepted as the normal state of affairs throughout Europe, certain circles in the Federal Republic excepted.

Adam Krzeminski, a somewhat younger Polish expert on Germany, let his guard slip a little more clearly.

In a *Polityka* leading article provocatively headlined "Are the Germans Reuniting?" he dealt with the wide range of views that testify to the West Germans' unbroken links with the other part of Germany — and not just among Christian Democrats.

He does not go on to the attack until his closing remarks in which he expresses a sense of outrage about the nationalist vein of CSU leader Theodor Waigel's statement of Bonn's legal position.

He is incensed about the Bundestag debate held to mark the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World and sounds as if thinking in national categories was totally alien to his fellow-countrymen.

"Even if the Federal Republic were to champion an economic aid programme for Poland," he writes, "the damage done by the border debate and the way in which the German minority card was played can simply not be made good."

He senses the bigotry and arrogance of power, especially among Christian Democrats. With statesmen such as these, he says, the non-Communist Mazowiecki government will face hard times ahead.

"The middle generation of German politicians totally lacks moral motives; all they have left is interests that in no way correspond to our own."

He sees a national threat of Polish young people blindly falling for the Germans' prosperity and letting themselves be colonised by German technology just as they were previously colonised by communist ideology.

Krzeminski's tirade against the Bonn rulers is that of an injured Polish Communist who feels he is losing his grip and is trying to set up last-ditch enemy images of old.

The view held by the new Polish Foreign Minister, Skubiszewski, on German reunification is, in contrast, reassuringly peaceful.

The border issue is settled, he says. A country that has lost a war of aggression must simply come to terms with having forfeited territory.

While he may not dispute Four-Power responsibility for Germany as a whole, the German Question as he sees it is practically limited to the two remaining German states.

Germans "have the right to self-determination, including their destiny as a state." It must, of course, bear in mind the rights of the Allied powers and the views of other European countries, especially their neighbours.

Foreign Minister Skubiszewski outlined Warsaw's official position for the first time in a manner that was not defamatory of German national interests.

Indeed, he put them on the same level as Polish national interests. So the days of scaremongering are drawing to a close.

Stefan Dietrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 October 1989)

Date arranged for Kohl's Poland visit

Helmut Kohl can at last visit Poland, which he has long been keen to do, in November.

Government representatives Horst Teltschik and Mieczyslaw Pszón held a second round of talks in which they solved the questions the last Communist-led Polish government had failed to resolve.

Forms of economic aid, or perhaps it would be better to refer to financial aid toward economic policy, were at issue. Bonn, at any rate, had ruled out the "watering can principle" of unselective aid.

Agreement has now been reached on aid being channelled directly and effectively into projects geared to market economy principles.

As proposed by Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Sejm approved measures aimed at curbing inflation. It did so at the same time as the talks with Bonn were held — surely an encouraging sign.

A further factor was that all representatives of the new Polish democracy not only acknowledged the existence of an ethnic German minority but reject court rulings and unfair treatment of other kinds from which many ethnic Germans in Poland used to suffer and in some cases still do.

All men of good will could long have found out earlier for themselves, in talks with the humane Solidarity thinkers, that this was the independent trade union's viewpoint.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said during his visit to the Federal Republic that the return of ethnic Germans to their home country was not just permitted; it was "in the spirit of a European-orientated Polish reconstruction" and desirable even.

But Poland did not, of course, want to be saddled with a Fifth Column. The Polish authorities left no doubt in the talks that they were working on the assumption that Bonn would be guided by continuity in its policy.

This was assumed to include de facto recognition of Poland's western borders, regardless of the constitutional position embodied in Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution.

That was why the Chancellor was to be allowed to do anything he could in Poland to gird German-Polish relations for a future in a common Europe.

This line of approach might just relegate irksome domestic debates on the border to their rightful position, one of strictly limited significance.

Polish democrats have lately made it clear without much hue and cry that they feel the one-sided nature of ties and talks between Social Democrats and Communist is an unsatisfactory vestige of the past.

They now plan to embark on an intensive dialogue with the senior partner in the present Bonn coalition, Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democrats.

Can the CDU/CSU afford to adopt an unpopular and inconvenient position when the Churches and over 80 per cent of German voters want Germany united no further than the Oder?

Warsaw plans to state in public that the immediate post-war expulsion of the Germans was a tragedy. The German cultural heritage east of the Oder and the Neisse is no longer to be denied.

What more could one want?

Jürgen Wahl

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 6 October 1989)

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■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

Entire GDR in a state of ferment with no end to domestic pressure

This article in the Bonn weekly "Das Parlament," is by Peter Thomas Krüger, the Berlin and GDR correspondent of the "Neue Rhein/Ruhr-Zeitung."

DAS PARLAMENT

Special trains are rolling the other German republic back into the past. As it was before the Wall was built on 13 August 1961, there is no stopping the mass exodus.

On the 40th anniversary of the GDR's foundation the SED leaders in East Berlin were mired in a crisis even more serious than the one then. Now they've even estranged themselves from allies in the East.

The old guard around the aged Erich Honecker, chairman of the German Democratic Republic's Council of State, has also sought refuge, barricading itself from its own citizens in its crumbling concrete fortress of power.

The — for the time being, at least, — never-ending journey into an uncertain future has begun.

But in the meantime, those left behind between the Elbe and Oder rivers are joining forces. Although many a dissident is already under house arrest, all over the country people are working on new political programmes.

The ward of court is rebelling against the apron-strings of the state, as Eisenhüttenstadt lawyer Rolf Henrich, who was thrown out of both the SED and his law office, called it in a book aimed at settling scores with the prevailing conditions.

The "New Forum" and other grassroots organisations are about to pull the emergency brake. They intend to put a stop to lethargy and hopelessness. That is what frightens the young people in particular into leaving the workers' and farmers' state.

Helplessness and anger are rampant in Leipzig and Dresden, in Erfurt and Rostock. Anger in particular over the green light that gave those refugees in Prague and Warsaw a quick ticket to the West. And probably illegally at that, innumerable critics mutter.

The railway adventure to Hof and Helmstedt strangled many GDR citizens' sense of justice. How so? The GDR authorities applied their own regulations ad absurdum, critics vociferously claim.

Not everyone wanting to emigrate is willing or able to hop on the special outbound trains. And by no means all of them are willing to abandon house and home and all their possessions in headlong flight. They've queued up with the regular applicants for emigration.

The official justification for the GDR's sudden ejection of its citizens was that they had "locked themselves out" of society. And it's certain, the official comment went on, no one will shed a tear for them.

But the smart tone doesn't address the problems. Frustration is growing at home. Bottlenecks are occurring in factories and businesses. Stores have to close.

In the district capital Gera, all bus drivers disappeared virtually overnight. Some hospitals are on the brink of declaring a state of emergency because their medical staff have abandoned the patients.

But the chronic patient, as the critics of the regime say openly, is, of course, wasting away — in the shape of the sclerotic leadership in East Berlin. And there the sick want to play doctor, too. But are they still able to look into the heart of the masses they are so fond of citing?

Following the accustomed script, Honecker's praetorian guards are forecasting that the SED party congress in the spring will be a success. Will domestic pressure for reform be kept under the lid until then? The hot autumn the GDR has experienced so far seems to indicate otherwise.

For one, Social Democrat and ex-Governing Mayor of West Berlin Klaus Schütz already fears that "the guys on the other side" will even shoot if it suits them. Beijing conditions on Marx-Engels Square in East Berlin? But then the SED would most likely have to request fraternal assistance from its comrades in the Middle Kingdom.

Nowadays Soviet tanks, in contrast to the time of the popular revolt on 17 June 1953, would probably remain on the bases of the Soviets' divisions in the GDR.

It goes without saying that the SED leadership is still relying on the fact that the country lacks a homogenous opposition. Groups calling themselves "New Forum," "Democracy Now" or "Alliance of Christians and Critical Marxists" are still stumbling about on weak legs.

Roots of a growth on the order of Poland's "Solidarity" are nowhere to be found in the GDR. Although groupings of intellectuals in particular are spreading, their radius remains limited.

Those who seize the opportunity to move to the Federal Republic of Germany via Hungary are now also shirking a bit of responsibility for the fate of their native country.

They offer solace and encourage people to stay. For the doubting and the desperate, the churches in the GDR are still a refuge and centre of discussion. They are increasingly helping to bear the oppressive weight of existing socialist society.

The Protestant Church in particular has long been a bearer of hope and rallying point for critical citizens of the GDR. It has assumed a major role in the country's opposition by proxy — not without resistance and protest from its own ranks.

"Our firm has been in the spiritual guidance business for 2,000 years," says Manfred Stolpe, consistorial president of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church and vice-chairman of the Association of Protestant Churches in the GDR.

Because of his brilliant analyses of the worries and hardships of his countrymen, in the West he is often dubbed the secret "foreign minister" of GDR Christians.

As a result, Stolpe has often been given a taste of the SED's petty revenge. The party organ "Neues Deutschland" has been known to brand him as the errand boy of the Western media.

For many years there was a truce between church and state. It was concluded on 6 March 1978 during a top-level meeting between SED chief Honecker and Protestant Bishop Albrecht Schönherr, who coined the term "the Church in Socialism."

All has not been well with this relationship for some time now, however. First was the trouble caused by the young people who gathered under the aegis of the church and propagated the peace slogan "swords into ploughshares," then, two years ago, the GDR state security police raided the Enviromental Library set up by dissidents at the East Berlin Zionskirche.

Ever since, there has been growing unrest among the "dissenters." Arrests mounted and expatriations, prison terms and expulsions reached their high point following a demonstration meant as an alternative to an official state tribute to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in early 1988 in East Berlin.

Last spring in particular, the Church press in the GDR was put under censorship pressure.

The "Prayer for Peace" that has been offered in St. Nicholas' Church in Leipzig since 1983, which is regularly followed outside by the protests of those wishing to leave the country, has long been a thorn in the side of the authorities.

Moreover, the Church has also investigated manipulation and fraud observed during last May's local elections.

Berlin's Bishop Gottfried Forck is still waiting for a reply from Honecker.

The entire country is in a state of ferment in the hope for peaceful change. But the louder the West calls for reforms, the more the old guard turn a deaf ear.

Manfred Gerlach, 61, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDPD) since 1967, announced, with an eye on the intimidated and timid opposition in the GDR, that "dissent is not disloyalty."

He said so in a speech marking the birth centenary of Nobel peace laureate Carl von Ossietzky.

Has an upheaval in the GDR already begun? As long as reunification only takes place in Passau, Nuremberg or Dortmund, little will have been gained.

So calls for the goal long-desired by all Germans are ill-timed for the GDR and more likely to have the opposite effect.

Peter Thomas Krüger

(Das Parlament, Bonn, 6 October 1989)

Go West young man is surely not the answer

Anyone who himself has packed his bag post-haste to leave the workers' and farmers' paradise within the space of an hour knows what the thousands of panic-stricken young people are now going through as they squeeze through the last crack to reach "the other side" at least without having to risk their lives.

When the permanent feeling of hopelessness escalates into desperation, what is left behind no longer matters. Nor does whether one's supposed future "in the free West" will in fact bring the freedom long desired or a future outside one's homeland and accustomed surroundings and without friends and close relatives will really be more worth living than the toilsome existence in a totalitarian state.

The drama and countless human tragedies of the fourth great trek to the West now unfolding live on television sets around the world are no different from those during the flight in 1945, the events during the popular uprising in the GDR in 1953 and the mass exodus in 1961.

That was when Walter Ulbricht was finally prompted to wall in, with Erich Honecker's help, his own people. Building the Wall was also an act of desperation, the rulers' last useless attempt to keep a crumbling system from collapsing — literally at any price.

Millions of people in the GDR, among them certainly some who faithfully or opportunistically followed the SED regime, have patiently and fatalistically endured the unutterable drudgery, the political minority and its resulting moral burden for decades on end.

And all of them broke their backs to pay off the debts of the Nazi regime under conditions far less favourable than we had in the West. Nevertheless, they gave the political leadership credit time and time again — what else could they do? — in the belief that things would have to change some day.

That's also what the people in the GDR thought when Erich Honecker succeeded the arch-Stalinist Walter Ulbricht. Today it's hard to believe that he was once counted among the "rays of hope" — the same man who with unrivalled cynicism dares to brand the young refugees traitors to a just cause.

It's not those who give up what they've wrought with their own hands who are traitors, but those who put their own power above the future of the people they gag.

The *Götterdämmerung* in the SED politburo can no longer be stopped. Honecker tried to stop it by momentarily opening the gates of his GDR prison a crack. His trying to pass off this most personal of declarations of bankruptcy as a "humanitarian" service saves us from feeling sympathy for the 77-year-old GDR leader.

There are facts that can only trigger indignation and rage no matter how helpless the self-justification. What took place along the railway line between the Czech border between Bad Schandau, Dresden, Riesa and the border of the Federal Republic is simply a new variation of voting with one's feet that even the cleverest propaganda can no longer explain away.

But we, who have the good fortune of not having to run away from our country's problems, ought to guard ourselves against falling into raptures of self-righteousness while viewing this intra-German drama.

Much of what is coming out of the mouths of the Federal Republic's politicians these days gives rise to concern lest a self-serving "I told you so" might prevail over statesmanship and reason.

The petty jockeying for the most telegenic appearance in front of the cameras gives us an unpleasant foretaste of all the things the politicians will come up with to present themselves in the best light possible — ultimately to the detriment of those who have come to us with such great hopes.

There is an acceptable excuse for the general helplessness with which not only East Berlin, but also Bonn, has reacted to the exodus from the GDR.

No-one could have really foreseen that so many young GDR citizens who grew up as the wards of the SED could be so desperate that they would prefer to vote with their feet.

Our leading politicians will soon have to find answers other than self-serving ones — in front of the cameras, too.

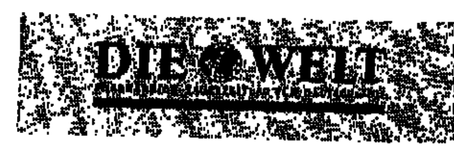
As a country in the heart of Europe, we can least of all afford to be at a loss for answers. And to understand that you don't have to be a geopolitical genius.

Eghard Mörbitz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 October 1989)

■ REFUGEES

Long wait at the border for next train from Prague



Hof, platform 1. Waiting for fellow East Germans, friends and relatives.

The days and nights seem to drag on endlessly. Only one question hangs in the air: when will the train from Prague arrive?

The official opening hours of the Hof railway station are displayed on a notice board on platform 1: 5.05 a.m. until 10.30 p.m.

Today, however, no-one cares about official notices. Especially the kiosk owner, who starts piling up hundreds of special editions of the *Frankenpost* daily newspaper outside of his window at 2 a.m.

The headline reads: "Today in Hof: Hundreds of East German Refugees Arrive Yet Again."

The refugees are to be given the newspaper hot from the press when they arrive — as a welcoming gift from the *Frankenpost* publishers.

The landlord in the railway station restaurant also has no intention of waiting until 5 a.m. to start selling his rolls, beer and coffee.

The numerous international journalists who had already turned up at 2.30 a.m. are only too glad to have a bite to eat and a little something to drink.

The permanent guests on platform 1 also appreciate the fact that they can quench their thirst a bit earlier than usual on a night like this.

The landlord takes advantage of the situation to praise his home town: "Hof is a cosmopolitan city with a heart," he tells his guests. No-one disagrees.

Literally overnight Hof has become the focus of international attention.

One young man dressed in black drums his fingers on the table of the station restaurant: "Are they coming or not? I just can't stand the uncertainty."

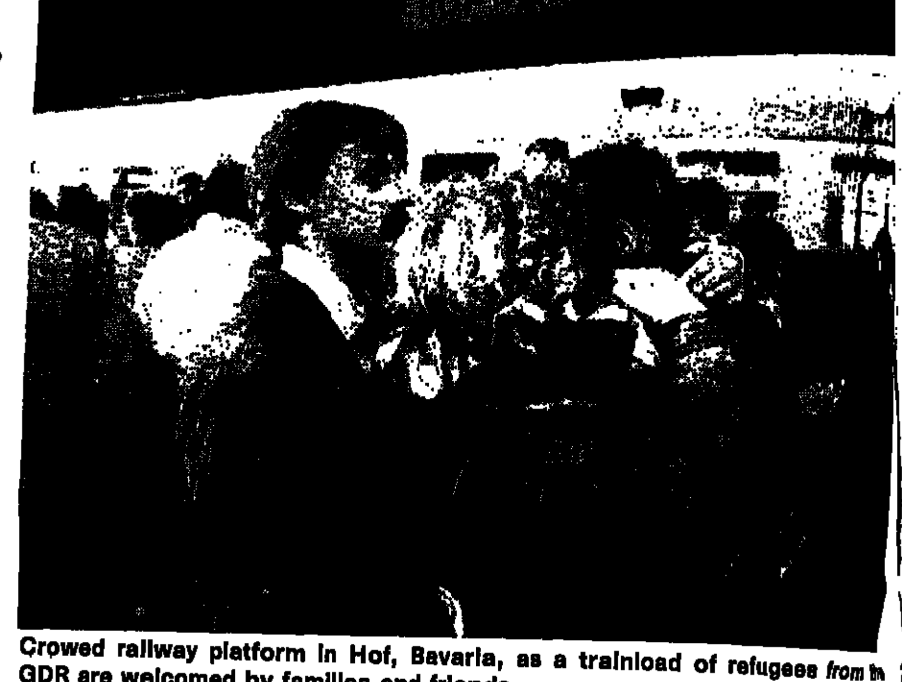
The mechanical engineer swam across the river Elbe to the West six years ago, leaving behind his wife and his son in East Berlin. He hopes that they will be among the 10,000 refugees who sought refuge in the West German embassy in Prague and are expected to arrive in Hof at 4 a.m.

According to the first news reports the first East German State Railways trains would be ready to leave Prague on Tuesday evening.

Then comes the news that the journey would be delayed because of "technical difficulties." Apparently, not enough carriages could be organised at such short notice.

A nerve-racking wait begins at Hof railway station. "Technical difficulties" — an expression which makes the people waiting there see red.

After the radio news at 5 a.m. broadcasts that not even the busses are ready in Prague to take the refugees from the embassy to the station the mechanical engineer bursts into tears and takes another swig from his hip-flask.



Crowed railway platform in Hof, Bavaria, as a trainload of refugees from the GDR are welcomed by families and friends (Photo: Poly-Press)

The man sat next to him at the table almost angrily tells him that "drinking only makes matters worse", advising the despairing man to drink something more medicinal to soothe his nerves.

He promises to follow the advice and makes his way across platform 1 to the *Bahnhofsmission*, the needy travellers' centre.

Very different characters are huddled together in the centre. The temperature outside has dropped to zero degrees centigrade.

Whereas three GDR citizens who fled the country three days previously wait for their relatives a chemist from Dresden pontificates about the "ideal of pure socialism" which, he claims, still has a chance of being achieved in the GDR.

The powers-that-be, he claims, are simply acting rather "clumsily."

His three listeners stand speechless as the chemist tells them that he intends travelling back to the GDR, to Dresden, after visiting his father in the West. "While 10,000 want to get out, one wants to go back," says the mechanical engineer and shakes his head.

More and more inhabitants of Hof turn up at the station with clothes for the expected trainloads of refugees.

The Red Cross workers have got plenty to do. Everything from socks to winter coats is neatly and tidily piled up on luggage vans and labelled "Men", "Women" and "Children."

A textiles salesman with an apparently social conscience and a heart for the environment has turned up with a stack of T-shirts with *Willi Wipfel und seine Freunde — Macht die Baüme wieder grün* (Willi Wipfel and his friends — make the trees green again) written in big letters on the front.

The Red Cross has parked two lorry-loads of foods in front of the station: 1.5 tons of baby food alone.

The helpers in the Hof Freiheitshalle have put up 500 beds. One man explains that this is the same hall in which the popular TV entertainment programme *Wetten, dass...* was once recorded.

A very tired organiser Herr Distelkamp stares at the red telephone in the hope that news will soon come of the arrival of the refugees at the station.

Nothing happens. The long wait drags on.

Rumours abound. "If you ask me it's all sheer bloody-mindedness," says the railway police chief of operations, Waldemar Popp. "They just want people to freeze all night."

Hoarfrost has formed on car windscreens because of the sudden drop in the temperature.

"They have to take away the East Germans waiting alongside the tracks in the GDR to jump on the refugee train first," says the kiosk owner, without stating the source of his information.

During their stopover in Hof on the regular trains from Dresden to Nuremberg the passengers confirm that the stations in the GDR are sealed off by East German police and that hundreds of people were standing alongside the tracks, 5,000 in Dresden alone.

No-one talks about why — everyone knows.

It looks as if things might take a turn for the better as Horst Waffenschmidt, the state secretary in the Bonn Interior Ministry, arrives as 5.25 a.m.

In a makeshift press conference room in the railway restaurant he announces that the Bonn government expects between 12,000 and 13,000 refugees.

Heated accommodation in Bundeswehr and Federal Border Guard buildings will be provided — from Alsfeld in Hesse to Neustadt am Rübenberge in Lower Saxony.

Furthermore, there are plenty of "buffer capacities" in individual *Länder*; after all, soldiers and border guards could "move even closer together."

Waffenschmidt also conveys personal greetings from Chancellor Helmut Kohl, whose "express wish" was that Waffenschmidt greet the refugees personally when they arrive at the station.

The politician from Bonn, however, was unable to answer one question: when are the refugees coming?

All Waffenschmidt could do was to reiterate that the head of the GDR's permanent mission in Bonn, Herr Neubauer, had told Minister of State Selters of the Chancellor's Office "that all agreements would be respected" and that only "technical difficulties" had to be overcome.

It was almost as if this was a cue for the mechanical engineer waiting for his family to stand up and shout "That's all bloody-mindedness. We know what they're like over there. Isn't it about time we smoked out the East Berlin regime?"

Everyone in the station building agrees that they have no choice but to keep on waiting.

At 6.25 p.m. there is welcome news from Prague: the first trainload of East German refugees has been given the go-ahead for its journey to the West, its journey to freedom.

Christian Geyer

(Die Welt, Bonn, 5 October 1989)

■ REFUGEES

New homes, new jobs found fairly easily, but new roots are harder to strike

The writer of this article, Professor Volker Ronge, holds the chair of sociology at Wuppertal University. He has pioneered since 1984 research into how new arrivals from the GDR have adapted to life in the West.

The number of East German refugees has risen to record levels not reached since the Wall went up in 1961.

The surprising increase in refugees in 1984, seen against what is happening now, was in fact nothing particularly unusual.

In 1984 among the 40,000 emigrés entering this country there were 35,000 German refugees, that is people who were not of retirement age but in their middle years and still in employment, and who wanted to emigrate legally to the Federal Republic. This option was possible.

Up to 1984 many applications for emigration had piled up and the East German authorities hoped that at a stroke they could solve the problem of those wanting to emigrate.

Most of them referred to the Final Act of Helsinki, which proclaimed the right of families to reunite.

Over the next few years the number of refugees dropped, as expected, to a level somewhere just above the figure of the previous years.

In 1988, against all expectations there were as many refugees from East Germany as in 1984, but this went almost unperceived.

In the first six months of this year there were 45,000 refugees from East Germany alone. As in the past about 70 to 80 per cent were legal emigrants.

Media concern and the interest of the general public about the refugees dropped, abruptly almost, to zero as soon as they had arrived in the Federal Republic.

The integration of these people was only of limited newsworthiness and attracted little attention, at least so long as this integration went ahead quietly and without any conflicts.

In Bonn the East German refugees were simply Germans in the meaning of Basic Law (Constitution) with all the rights and duties of West Germans.

The normal administration facilities, nothing more, were available to them when they needed them. Why should there be difficulties for Germans to settle down and live with Germans?

With this rhetorical question politicians explained away their lack of interest in what happened to the refugees, once they had arrived in the Federal Republic.

But the integration of the refugees from the East into Federal Republic society did not proceed without any hitches; this is what the politicians would dearly like to have seen happen.

The analysis and evaluation of the integration process takes time; this is a lengthy process and it takes time before reliable judgments can be pronounced about the success or failure of the social integration of emigrants moving from one society to another.

Three problem areas of integration must be considered particularly: housing, jobs and social contacts.

The housing problem presents itself immediately after arrival in the Federal Republic. It calls for a speedy solution, which can turn out more or less to the satisfaction of those concerned.

It is quite a different matter when it comes to integration into the economy. In looking for a job East German refugees are subject to a period of grace inasmuch as they are taken on in the West as if they had worked in the Federal Republic, that is if they had been in employment in East Germany, (This is the case until now but a change in the law is on the way.)

They are credited with the relevant unemployment insurance payments and for the first year qualify for unemployment benefits, and then for benefits at a lower rate.

These state safeguards diminish the pressure to take up a job immediately, to accept just anything that is available.

They can live from earnings-related unemployment pay, particularly if there are two in the household claiming benefit, which is usually the case with married couples and families from East Germany.

The success or failure of the economic integration of East German refugees living in the Federal Republic can be measured if within a year they could take up a job, that is to say when the pressure to find work is increased by the cessation of unemployment pay.

Much more time is needed to evaluate in the narrowest meaning of the term the social dimension of integration. This involves friendship, getting to know people, neighbourliness. It involves the development of social contacts, the development of a sense of being at home.

The question to be asked is whether and when emigration leads to social acceptance and being involved in the West and on which reference group this is based.

In the final analysis this is the variable which indicates whether and to what degree refugees are content, or whether belatedly they regret their drastic decision to change from living in East Germany to living in West Germany.

If the decision to emigrate has been well thought out and planned the question of finding a home usually does not present any difficulty.

This is the case when the refugees have had to make an application to emigrate, because the wait from the time the application is made until permission is granted can take on average between two to three years.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

These people wanting to get out are often in a position to seek support from relations or friends. Indeed the more East German refugees come over to the West the more new refugees can depend on help from people who were once East Germans and have been living for some time in the Federal Republic.

In addition the housing requirements of refugees are relatively modest, at least for the first few years.

At the beginning they claim that they are content with the accommodation in the West which would be regarded as extremely desirable in East Germany and which was frequently denied them: this means a new flat with living space per person according to West German standards with the comfort of central heating.

They find accommodation fairly easily because they make no particular demands about the location and surroundings of the apartment. From the East German point of view it goes without saying that a new apartment is in a large housing estate, but compact estates of this sort are not particularly attractive to tenants in the Federal Republic.

To this can be added another point: to East Germans West German rents are astronomically high. This is why they direct their searches for accommodation to relatively cheap flats, which can be found more easily in the less attractive residential areas.

The refugees who came over in 1984 solved the housing problem to their satisfaction in a relatively short space of time. It will probably be more difficult for the refugees coming over now because of the overstretched housing market in the Federal Republic.

The refugees of 1984 were faced with an economic situation which was more critical than it is today. The number of unemployed was higher than it is now, the demand for trainee jobs was greater than the supply and there were no expectations of the economic boom which the Federal Republic is experiencing at the present.

People in this country then feared the wave of refugees from East Germany in 1984 particularly because of their effects on the labour market. To many this influx of a large number of well-trained refugees, willing to work and in the best working years of their lives, was a threat.

Reviewing the economic integration of the refugees in the time span described above, it emerges that there were few former East Germans who were out of work in the course of the years they have been in the West. Only non-technical and non-scientific academics posed a problem group on the labour market, albeit a small one.

In a survey of a group of refugees who came over in 1984, about half had found a job in the same sector and at the same level as the work they had had in East Germany within the space of five years.

The other half of the this refugee group seeking work had found a job but below their qualifications. Women were over-represented here because most of them, following the example in the West, wanted to work.

The difficulty with the women was based on the fact that they came from service industries unlike the men who had been trained in the industrial sector: the service industries are full to overflowing with workers in the Federal Republic. Or they were seeking part-time work, but not what can be regarded as casual jobs. These are relatively rare in this country.

East German refuges, doing work for any length of time below their qualifications, have compensated for their lower wages, that is lower pay than they expected, by working more, either by doing overtime or having a second job.

In the course of the first years in the West there were few refugee households which did not have an income from gainful employment coming in. These refugees were not living off the state.

The refugees usually spent their wages economically and selectively. They put particular value on consumer durables.

At first this involved fitting out the home, but quickly there was a car, not because they needed one to reach work, but because of their deprivation of consumer and status symbols in East Germany.

Then they made many long trips — an understandable urge to catch up with what they were not able to do when in the German Democratic Republic.

Their successful economic integration, even in difficult times, is shown by their example at work and in their behaviour patterns, which to citizens in the Federal Republic seem quite foreign and smack of the 1950s.

To a considerable extent the refugees represented the virtues which the world at large has always regarded as German virtues: they are hard-working, zealous and thrifty.

The typical situation of the emigrant can be added to these material values and patterns of behaviour. Fighting through considerable personal difficulties — disappointments and the emigration procedure in East Germany — has given greater strength to his ego. It could be described as the "pioneer spirit."

Such a person is in danger of rubbing people up the wrong way and making them envious of his success. He does not fit into a West Germany which has long discarded material values.

The refugee becomes a pushy person among his working colleagues. They do not look too favourably on his preparedness to work overtime and at weekends, perhaps with the exception in medium-sized companies.

Independent of this social-psychological aspect, refugees are alienated when they realise that in the West work and leisure are separated and that one is not likely to find friends among work colleagues.

In this respect refugees have quite a different experience of life, which means that the social climate in the West seems to them "cold."

In any case refugees reduce the time they have for "investing in social contacts" simply because they work more than is usual in the West.

Because he wants to live cheaply the refugee meets at the place where he lives people of the social level whom he would prefer to keep at a distance.

Through their thrift refugees avoid making friendships in the typical places where friendships can be made, in pubs, restaurants and cinemas. They regard as a waste spending money in their leisure time in this way.

Quite understandably refugees bring with them an aversion for all kinds of organisations to which they had to belong in the GDR, and in so doing forgo the possibilities of meeting people which have become of importance in Federal Republic life.

This leads to the refugees being socially isolated to a large extent, so, they turn to the family when this is possible.

There is rarely compensation for this through contacts with West German relations or contacts with other refugees. The contacts with relations, at first close, were mostly fragile because they only came about through emigration from East Germany.

They were often overtaxed by a kind of "godparent relationship" to their relations in the West, which result in disillusionment through the fast development of the "godchild."

The frequent contacts at the beginning with people from East Germany who had suffered the same fate as themselves were consciously reduced by many refugees, because they stood in the way of their efforts to forget as quickly and as completely as possible their East German past so that they would appear as "real citizens of the Federal Republic."

There is more concealed behind the social isolation in the West after five years for many East German refugees than the typical fate of the emigrant. East Germans are regarded by politicians and West Ger-

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■ MARKETPLACE

Germans and Japanese compare notes

The establishment of the single European market in 1992 and the decline of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe provided the background for the second Japan-German symposium, held in Berlin.

The symposium was organised by the Hamburg-based weekly *Die Zeit* and the Japanese daily *Asahi Shimbun*, in cooperation with the Japanisch-Deutsches Zentrum in Berlin.

The discussions centred on perspectives for the 1990s and likely political and economic developments in the 21st century.

In his speech Michio Nagai, chairman of International House of Japan, sketched out the necessity of a reform of Japanese society in view of the new role Japan plays in the West and in view of a new relationship being created with Japan's neighbours in Asia, ex-colonies of the West and Japan.

He said that unfortunately disarmament agreements between the superpowers had yielded little in the Pacific region.

Toshitada Nakae, the new president of *Asahi Shimbun*, called for more international cooperation for a peaceful world in view of the problems of the Third World and global ecocide.

He called for more disarmament, greater efforts against ecocide, more support for self-help for the Third World, increased training programmes in the Third World and joint efforts in space and oceanographic research.

Mutually beneficial partnerships on a basis of trust are just not possible with egoistic forms of nationalist thinking, he said.

He maintained that Japan must import more and increase domestic demand, offer more development aid, develop mineral and energy resources, encourage disarmament in the Pacific, and solve the problems of Korea and the Soviet-occupied territories.

In his speech former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt was not very optimistic. "The USA is in a financial crisis, without knowing it. America has become a credit-card nation," he said, and the Federal Republic and Japan were financing this enormous trade deficit.

"That is a mistake, for the USA does not regard highly that the country is being financed by the countries defeated in the last war," he added.

Nevertheless, the US is the number one superpower, while Japan will maintain her position as the leading financial power in the world. "No-one can occupy this role in the future," Herr Schmidt said.

He pointed out that Japan must, however, clarify its position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union since the Pacific states do not regard the Japanese in friendly terms.

"The more powerful Japan becomes the greater is the danger of isolation. Do not follow the advice of the Americans who want to sell you more arms. That scares your neighbours and weakens exports," Herr Schmidt said, addressing the Japanese directly.

Likewise Herr Schmidt advised the Japanese to establish closer economic ties with China. He said that China, however, would not become an economic superpower over the next ten years.

The same applied to the Soviet Union, whose development the former chancellor was following with sympathy.

Herr Schmidt said that despite the massacre in Peking this year the two communist superpowers had been brought closer together. He said that the fear of war was the same in both countries. Both had a free hand in their spheres of interest, the former German chancellor said.

Herr Schmidt went on to say that Poland and Hungary urgently needed economic aid from the West. "Debt remission was more important for these countries than for the states of South America."

He said that ten billion dollars over the next three years for consumer goods would be right for Poland and Hungary.

Turning to the European Community he warned against expecting too much from a single European market so long as Britain, for instance, thought about Europe in 19th century terms.

The American social scientist and Sovietologist Seweryn Bialer came under criticism for his grim prognosis on the development of the Soviet Union.

He said that Mr Gorbachov had lost control of the Communist Party, and the Party had lost control over Soviet society.

Mr Bialer feared an escalation of violence in the Soviet Union in view of the imminent political changes. He said that President Gorbachov could not hope for help from the West.

Helmut Schmidt could only partly agree with him. He said that Gorbachov's mistake had been to have fired the bureaucracy too quickly and to have delayed currency reform.

Herr Schmidt said that here the West could help with ideas and advice in the economic sphere.

Wilhelm Nölling, president of the Landeszentralbank, Hamburg, turning to the economic perspectives for the 1990s, referred to the urgent need for political action.

He said that politicians must halt the arms race and promote world trade. He called for more international cooperation to master financial crises. He pointed out that it was essential for exchange rates to be stabilised.

Isamu Miyazaki of the Daiwa Securities Research Institute called for "an economy without frontiers in a single world." He said that Korea and Taiwan must also

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Leading diplomat warns of US-Japanese challenge

Konrad Seitz, West German ambassador in Delhi, believes that increasing Japanese-American cooperation is the greatest challenge the Federal Republic and Europe have to face in the future.

He granted that the development of the single European market and the reform processes taking place in Eastern Europe were important, but the rise of the Pacific region as the centre of world trade, and the possible cooperation of the USA with economic superpower Japan, were decisive for the future.

The ambassador was voicing his ideas in a lecture at the Atlantik-Brücke in Bonn.

Just how Bonn reacts to these challenges will be decisive for the future of the Federal Republic, he said.

Herr Seitz pointed out that until now too little consideration had been given to this development, evidence of the prevalent emphasis on Europe.

Herr Seitz saw many instances of the dangerous disadvantages the Federal Republic would have to face as a result of the increasing cooperation between Japan and America.

The Federal Republic was still a leader in exports, but 70 per cent of the country's exports remain in Europe, only 5.6 per cent are despatched to Asia. The successes of today were the result of past achievements, he emphasised.

He said that the Federal Republic was a market leader in high-precision engineering, in mechanical engineering and plant construction. But the Federal Republic was way behind in the new technology and would be dependent on the USA and the Far East, he warned.

The dominance of Japan-American global cooperation in semiconductors, computers and leisure electronics, as opposed to the regional orientation of European companies, caused the ambassador to make the pointed comment:

"If there is no realisation of this and no reaction to it, Europe will become a high-technology colony of the United States and Japan."

He said that the Federal Republic was way behind the USA and Japan, whether it was a matter of investment abroad or global strategic cooperation between competing companies with the aim of being successful on international markets.

There is already an interconnection between Japanese and American industries, even a mutual adjustment of their company structures.

US management is beginning to apply traditional Japanese partnership attitudes; Japanese firms are moving away from the seniority principle and putting more emphasis on personal responsibility and creativity.

Did this mean that the future looked grim for the Federal Republic? Neither the ambassador nor those attending his lecture saw things in this light.

They emphasised the efficiency and innovative spirit of the Federal Republic's medium-sized companies and brought up the technological and quality weaknesses of US industry.

Then, despite the increasing cooperation between the USA and Japan, relations between the two states were marred by considerable tensions.

Ambassador Seitz emphasised that "nichibei," the expression used for Japanese-American cooperation, was not so much a marriage as a compulsory union which was vital for the survival of both countries.

Herr Seitz said that he was confident that the Federal Republic had the power to maintain its position in international trade. What was needed was the will to counter these challenges.

Bonn's ambassador to India intends to make his contribution to this. In autumn his ideas will appear in a book which has the provisional title *Nichibei 2000 — Germany's Future in the Japanese-American Era.* *Lutz Warkalla*

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 27 September 1989)

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mans themselves simply as Germans. This is only true after they have moved to the West.

But this ignores the fact that living and working in a social system, in many ways a deviation from the system in the West, which East German refugees have experienced, makes them become the "other Germans" with different ideals, values, desires and modes of behaviour.

The refugees bring with them "socialist baggage" which reflects "the other German society." This is the case independent of their individuality, which is particularly characterised by the "active renunciation" of the GDR, born of disappointment.

There are considerable differences in these two German "ways of life" collide with one another when it comes to integration into West German society.

The current propaganda slogan in the GDR is: "Do something and then something will be done for you." It has made a deep impression on East Germans, more so, perhaps, on the refugees than on those who have remained in the country.

This "baggage," favourable to employment, is useful for frictionless integration into working life. But materialist behaviour patterns must eventually come into collision with the post-material attitudes prevalent in the West now.

This means for refugees, a minority anyway, social isolation, with which they can live but which can hardly lead to a sense of satisfaction and a sense of being at home in their new surroundings.

It is difficult for the official *Deutschlandpolitik* to take note of these social problems or to take them into account. This policy is based solely on the "Germanness" of the former as with the present inhabitants of the GDR.

From the experiences gained from refugee integration in the West one can only advise those responsible for *Deutschlandpolitik* not to close their eyes to the extensive social differences which have moulded the Germans from "over there," and which they cannot jettison easily even if they wanted to.

This realisation should be transposed to specific measures for the support of social integration of refugees in the West. But this help should not have the smack of social welfare about it. Charitable associations are wholely suitable for that.

What can one say about the likelihood of the refugees who are now coming over from Hungary integrating into West German life?

They are likely to be integrated into the economy better than in normal cases. Firstly the economic situation is favourable and there are many job vacancies to which they would "fit" with their qualifications.

This will probably be the case because they are on average markedly younger than "normal" emigrants. Then, because they have just been trained they will have relatively modern qualifications, particularly favourable requirements for the individual for incorporation into working life in the Federal Republic.

But their social integration will supposedly suffer from the fact that the decision to leave the GDR was made spontaneously and in a phase of their lives (some are still in their adolescence) when they are temperamentally prone to take action out of a sense of adventure.

They have not had to wait before they were able to emigrate, as is the case with a normal emigré. During this period there is time to consider all aspects of this radical step and prepare for life in the West.

The refugees coming in from Hungary lack this and this could possibly mean that the frustration tolerance of these refugees will be relatively limited.

For some, belatedly coping psychologically with the decision they have made to lead a new life in West, this could mean a rude awakening.

Volker Ronge

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 September 1989)

■ COAL & STEEL

Steel industry feels girded to weather next downturn

The 23rd annual conference of the Brussels-based International Iron and Steel Institute (IISI) which began in Berlin on 2 October was marked by a mood of realism.

The conference was attended by well over 650 delegates from over 40 countries.

With the exception of the Comecon countries and Red China all the world's major steel producing countries are IISI members.

IISI general secretary Lenhard J. Holschuh had some positive things to say at the beginning of the conference about steel's current situation and prospects.

Despite the optimistic extrapolations many delegates recalled only too well the similarly optimistic forecasts made during the last IISI conference on German soil in 1974.

At that time forecasters predicted an almost endless steel boom and a doubling of steel production to a good billion tons by the mid-1980s. Just under 800 million tons will be produced this year.

The IISI forecasters were very soon brought down to earth with a bump. The oil crisis hit the industry shortly after this 1974 forecast.

With the exception of only slight fluctuations it ushered in 13 tough years of what has gone down in the history of the steel industry as its most persistent crisis.

There was general agreement in Berlin that there will probably never again be a repeat of a slump of this nature.

A variety of reasons are given for this view.

Statistics show that the steel industry became healthier during the slump despite incredibly high asset losses.

The German steel industry, for example, produced the same amount of steel in 1989 with a total workforce of 180,000 as it did 20 years ago with twice as many employees.

Admittedly, *Sozialplan* (a plan elaborated to mitigate undue hardships resulting from partial or complete plant closures) funds to the tune of DM7bn had to be financed by the firms themselves.

There are 35 blast furnaces for pig iron production in the Federal Republic of Germany, half as many as in 1960.

Steel production today takes place in ultramodern units with 90 per cent continuous casting.

The warm and cold rolling mills are have also been by and large updated. A substantial reduction of costs has been achieved at all operational stages during recent years.

On the whole, the breakeven point in this branch has been lowered, a fact confirmed by industry's currently appreciable profits.

In view of the improved costs structure it will probably be easier to pull through any future slumps than it was in the past.

The fact that over 100 million tons of obsolete capacity was reduced during the past few years indicates that the next setback is unlikely to be that serious.

Furthermore, no major investments are planned worldwide in the foreseeable future, since new revolutionary production techniques in the fields of smelting and rolling mill technology are expected soon.

These techniques are likely to reduce costs even further.

It will take some time before continuous casting technology is able to produce warmband coils in one cast and thus completely replace the traditional warm rolling process.

Until this technique has been developed to production stage, however, hardly any steel company is likely to invest to any great extent in outdated technology.

The expected technological leap forward may be able to prevent surplus capacities in big steel plants for a whole decade.

The situation is not quite the same with respect to the smaller plants, the mini-mills, although the successes in the field of sectional steel could be followed by progress on the flat side.

All this would suggest that in future steel will be better able to face up to the competition of substitute goods, such as other metals and, above all, synthetic materials.

The variety of types of steel — there has been reference to a figure of 2,400 — has increased considerably during recent years.

The industry has realised that marketing is absolutely essential. In addition, there are the more than welcome benefits of recycling.

An analysis compiled by the McKinsey management consultancy had some very good news for the delegates in Berlin.

According to the report an annual $200bn is spent on steel worldwide. All other metals only achieve a figure of $50bn and all synthetic materials just under $100bn.

Admittedly, nobody in Berlin was too keen to add that the other metals and in particular the synthetic materials have had the better growth rates for years and are likely to sustain them in future.

The next downswing has already begun. There has been a downhill trend in the USA in 1989 and Western Europe and Japan will be next in line.

The losses, however, will stay within limits, which justifies hopes for a soft landing without too many red figures.

Yet uncertainty remains, since just a few tons of steel sold on the market at dumping prices can pull down the whole price structure in a situation in which there are only relatively minor fluctuations in quantity. This explains the warning by Ruprecht Vondran, the president of the Steel Association in Düsseldorf, to be prepared for worse times.

In other words: everyone should let reason prevail when it comes to prices.

The new awareness that steel is and will remain an interesting material may help.

One thing is certain. There will never again be an omnipotent steel industry.

Werner Jaspert

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 3 October 1989)

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open up their markets and that he was disappointed with the USA.

Takashi Wada, editor of the *Asahi Shimbun*, criticised this free trade thinking and called for democratic controls over currency exchange dealers, for a long time operating internationally.

Helmut Schmidt said that the market alone could not regulate everything; it could not help the old or the sick or the people of the Third World.

He said that in view of the structural changes on international financial markets, which were increasingly dominated by dashing young men at a computer, it was essential to put a stop to this Las Vegas mentality. He said that the world needed a new monetary system.

There was a long way to go, however, before there would be a standard European currency.

With some force he said that "financial markets are at present dominated by idiots."

No solutions were brought forward to these problems at the symposium.

Rolf Brockschmidt

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 27 September 1989)

Mikat probe into German coal's future

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The inaugural session of the Mikat Commission in Bonn on 6 October marks the beginning of an exciting new chapter in the history of German hard coal.

The Commission, named after its chairman and former Cultural Affairs Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia, Paul Mikat (CDU), has the ambitious task of elaborating a long-term concept to safeguard German hard coal by March 1990.

The time is more than ripe for such a concept.

Wedged between high extraction costs and even higher subsidies, between the desired safeguarding of the national energy supply and the absolutely essential further reduction of manpower, hard coal is finding it increasingly difficult to believe that it has any future at all.

The intention of European Community authorities in Brussels to put an end to the enormous subsidies from which the coal industry benefits makes prospects even gloomier.

To outline a perspective in this network of alleged and real constraints is not an enviable task for the Commission.

If the Mikat Commission is honest and perhaps courageous enough not to rule out any problems, its activities could prove useful — not only for the coal industry.

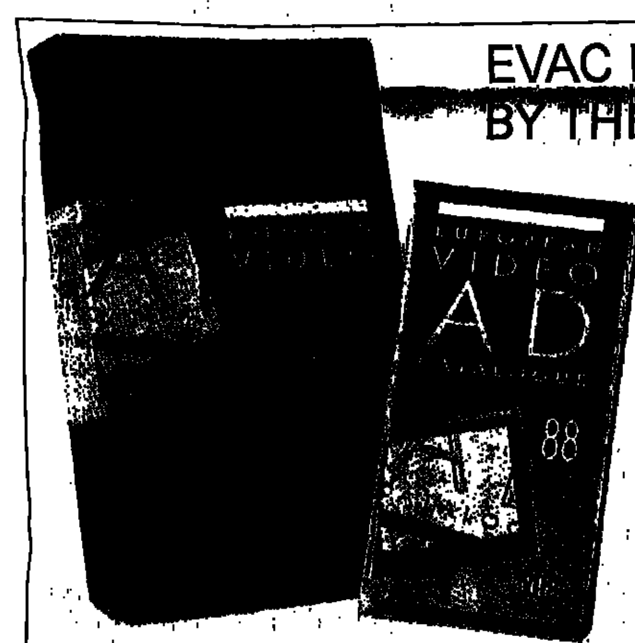
Its recommendations for hard coal will have implications for other sources of energy on which the German energy supply is based.

This will hopefully prompt a discussion on how the energy policy of the 1990s and the first decade of the next century should be shaped.

At present there is no national consensus on energy policy in general and the use of certain sources of energy — first and foremost, nuclear energy — in particular.

This is not good enough for a leading industrial nation such as the Federal Republic of Germany. The Mikat Commission has set its sights extremely high.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 5 October 1989)



■ TRANSPORT

New monorail competition for hovertrain

In Brunswick Professor Herbert Weh is well and truly spreadeagled on the horns of a dilemma. He has devised a new hovertrain that might well outperform the much-vaunted Transrapid all along the line.

It would travel faster at much less expense, knocking the Transrapid into a cocked hat, as it were. Yet Professor Weh would soonest shelve the idea, at least for a while.

He would prefer to keep his technique under wraps until the year 2000 when the "outmoded" Transrapid is envisaged as "hovering" passengers from Hamburg to Hanover and the world's fair.

Professor Weh is an expert on propulsion systems. His reservations are attributable to the fact that the Transrapid was his brainchild too.

Politicians and industry, like the professor himself, are keen to see the Transrapid taken into service. A new hovertrain concept, no matter how convincing, is unwanted at present.

Even so, the drawer into which plans for the new hovertrain are to be dropped has now been opened to reveal a tantalising glimpse of the alternative technique.

Two hundred of the world's leading hovertrain specialists were allowed to take a look at it at Maglev '89 in Yokohama, Japan, where Professor Weh lifted the veil for a brief moment.

For about 15 years the Japanese have spared neither trouble nor expense in developing hovertrain systems, yet they now seem to have been shown a clean pair of magnets.

The Federal Republic of Germany, and Brunswick University of Technology's department of electrical engineering, hovers in the lead by a short head.

Until recently electromagnets led in hovertrain technology. Japanese engineers perfected their use in the MLU, using magnetic coils in the track and superconductive coils in the underbelly of the railcars.

But this combination makes the system accident- or breakdown-prone, heavy and expensive. A 150-ton MLU takes two megawatts just to hover.

The German Transrapid doesn't need magnetic coils in the track to keep it airborne, and it uses one kilowatt of electric power per ton of hovertrain.

Even so, Transrapid is breakdown-prone too, if only because the technology is so complicated.

Over 100 control loops need to be fitted to each electromagnet to keep its magnetic inertia under control.

Professor Weh's new baby, the Brunswick 2, jettisons nearly all this electromagnetic ballast, relying on simple permanent magnets for uplift.

In 1977, when work on the Transrapid began, these new magnets did not yet exist. They are made of rare earth alloys with tongue-twisting names that testify to their chemical origins.

Two varieties that particularly interest hovertech experts are samarium cobalt ($SmCo_5$) and neodymium-iron-boron ($Nd_2Fe_{14}B$) magnets.

In comparison with conventional ferrous magnets they are ten times as powerful. If a horseshoe-shaped magnet of the kind widely used in physics lessons at school were made of $Nd_2Fe_{14}B$, no teacher would stand the least chance of being able to separate it by hand from a metal plate.

Rare earth alloy magnets have been used commercially for several years in speaker miniaturisation and power generators, for instance.

In 1987 a mere 250 tons was manufactured worldwide. By 1997, eight years from now, estimated production will be 10,000 tons, says Vakuumschmelze GmbH of Hanau, near Frankfurt.

Prices will be lower. Neodymium, iron and boron alloy first cost DM1,000 per kilogram; by 1997 the cost is expected to be down to DM230 per kilo. Hovertrains mounted on permanent magnets could be sure to cut costs still further.

In Brunswick 2 the magnets are mounted well below the railcar's underbelly, extending into a groove in the track.

The magnetic field is not applied vertically, as in the hovertrain that is to operate shuttle services at Frankfurt airport from 1992, but horizontally between the left and right spars.

The rod-shaped magnets must be a few millimetres shorter than the inside width of the track.

To keep the magnets in mid-track and stop them from making contact with the spars smaller electromagnets balance and control the principal magnets so that they are unable to "decide" in favour of either one spar or the other, as it were.

This is an idea with revolutionary consequences. By keeping the hovertrain exactly on course it could enable hovertrains to travel faster than the 403.7kph record set up by the Transrapid.

Speed is not the only point in its favour. The Transrapid's carrier and propulsion systems make up roughly half the unit weight. Brunswick 2 makes do with about 25 per cent, meaning a heavier payload, or more passengers.

The track would be less complicated too and could be laid at ground level, whereas Transrapid runs along a track mounted on pylons.

Millions of concrete pylons are needed because the Transrapid's magnets have to be fitted beneath the track. The Transrapid encompasses its track on all sides.

The track is very expensive, so it is mounted at a height of four metres to discourage terrorists, which makes it both costly and an eyesore.

As the track has a substantial bearing on overall costs, Brunswick 2 has both an economic and an ecological dimension. Its track would cost less and look not quite so ugly.

The Brunswick-designed magnet-borne thunderbird might encounter less public resistance than the Transrapid as a result.

People have come to realise that no engine noise does not mean no vehicle noise; at 400kph (250mph) the Transrapid would make an earsplitting noise as it sliced through the air.

That is why opposition to the hovertrain is taking shape along the proposed track between Hamburg and Hanover.

Noise abatement is virtually a dead letter. Embankments and other options can hardly be expected to muffle the sound of decibels at a constant four metres above the ground.

Brunswick 2 would be no less noisy, but at ground level insulation is much less of a problem.

Three years' work has already been ploughed into Brunswick 2, financed by the Federal Research Ministry but still not officially named.

The more is heard of and about the Hamburg-Hanover Transrapid track, the more critical the public will be of politicians who endorse the Transrapid.

Chill winds of criticism seem sure to blow as a new hovertrain technique takes shape in Brunswick. *Michael Engel*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 September 1989)

250kph intercity or hovertrain: the choice is Bonn's

Bonn has set itself tough transport policy tasks this autumn. One decision is due on the new high-speed rail permanent way between Cologne and Frankfurt, another on an experimental track for the controversial Transrapid hovertrain.

The Cabinet made life difficult for itself in July when the two projects were last discussed by agreeing to link them.

A decision was first to be reached on the hovertrain route. Was it to link Hamburg and Hanover or Essen and Bonn or, a third option, Cologne and Düsseldorf airports, which are not yet served by a through rail route?

A Rhineland route was to be considered first. In other words, is the hovertrain to serve Cologne airport?

If it is, there will be no need to run a conventional ICE inter-city express rail service there.

Cologne airport needs only one or other of the two systems: a conventional rail link or a hovertrain service.

Transport Minister Friedrich Zimmermann and Bundesbahn board chairman Reiner Gohlke are most unhappy about this linkage.

Presenting the latest version of the inter-city express in Munich, Herr Gohlke critically commented that the Transrapid was a nuisance factor in deciding on the route the inter-city's permanent way was to take between Cologne and Frankfurt.

There can be no doubt that this busiest section of permanent way in the Federal Republic will be the cornerstone of the European high-speed rail network, to quote Herr Zimmermann, with spurs serving Brussels, Paris and London.

They will all be linked by conventional inter-city services. The furthest south the hovertrain is likely to go is Bonn.

Herr Zimmermann makes no bones about his dislike of the Transrapid, which hovers atop a concrete track, while its sup-



porters, Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber in particular, praise in the highest terms.

They hail it as a symbol of the future, whereas an internal evaluation by Herr Zimmermann's Ministry pending the forthcoming Cabinet decision coolly remarks that Thyssen, leader of the Transrapid consortium, "has so far, evidently with success, used the Transrapid as a symbol and advertising facility for modern innovative technology."

Sounding a note of unusual detachment from the high-tech hovertrain, the Ministry memorandum continues:

"With the passage of time, the use of taxpayers' money, the inroads into nature and the landscape the question of (the project's) practical success is posed with growing intensity."

The Transrapid is made out to be akin to the Kalkar fast breeder reactor, long considered to be the shape of things to come in nuclear power innovation.

Transport Ministry experts doubt whether the hovertrain has reached the stage of technical maturity at which it is ready for practical use: "A warning must be issued against overestimated the degree of maturity so far achieved."

Technical problems of special importance are said still to exist. They include corrosion, winter suitability, safety features and the mounting of carrier and guide magnets.

Recent surveys are said to have reconfirmed that "resonant vibration between vehicle and track may overstrain the suspension elements."

Damaged suspension elements are allegedly the reason why operational restrictions are constantly imposed on the test section of hovertrain track near Emden on the Dutch border.

Experts see the main problem as being "instability of hovering on bends that makes the vehicle collide with the track."

This said to reduce comfort considerably and to overstrain both vehicle and track impermissibly, delaying the test programme.

Thyssen have so far said the system should be ready for operational use by the end of this year, but this deadline can evidently no longer be met.

Research Minister Riesenhuber in contrast sees no problems in Transrapid development. His Ministry has so far invested DM1.3bn in the project, while industry has spent about 10 per cent of this sum.

The taxpayer has so far paid roughly DM75m toward research and development expenditure on the ICE inter-city express, and the ICE has reached series maturity.

Forty-one ICEs have been ordered for use from 1991 on what by then will be 1,300km (825 miles) of newly-built high-speed permanent way.

The ICE's cruising speed will be 250kph, or 150mph, but experimentally it has done 406kph (253mph); the Transrapid has done 412kph, with 500kph (300mph) as the manufacturer's target.

Thyssen board chairman Dieter Spethmann is convinced that conventional road, rail and air passenger transport alone are no longer enough to meet requirements.

The Transrapid, he says, holds the key to a comprehensive reform of transport systems. Thyssen leads the hovertrain consortium.

Herr Spethmann says a 1,000km hovertrain track linking Hamburg and Munich via the Rhine-Ruhr, Rhine-Main and Rhine-Neckar regions would cost about DM30bn. Others say the cost is likelier to be DM47bn.

The hovertrain's forte will be its speed, always assuming problems are solved and the system reaches technical maturity.

But the Federal Republic of Germany and most of Europe are densely populated. Extremely high speeds will only be possible for short intervals, not to mention the effect on people and the surroundings en route.

Thyssen have looked into the objection that the hovertrain would be unable to link city centres. The new line of argument is that linking airports would make more sense.

Even so, passengers would still need to board the hovertrain somewhere along the line, presumably at stops outside city centres to which feeder services must be run.

The Federal government must first decide where the test section is to be built. The domestic outlook for the Transrapid may at best be uncertain, but the quality of German hovertrain technology must be demonstrated to potential export customers.

If a demonstration facility is not laid on, the Research Ministry warns, the Germans will be seen as lacking in confidence in their own system.

It will then surely be an export failure, especially now the Japanese have decided to build a 50km (30-mile) test track for their own hovertrain. A Hamburg-Han-

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■ AEROSPACE

Follow-up costs of Bonn's research commitments are anyone's guess

When Nasa outlined its ideas on space station proposals to an invited international audience at its Houston space centre in January 1982, Dr Kappler of Erno, Bremen, said there could be no question of German participation until the fees users were to be charged were known.

No mention was made of them at the time. Two years later, in January 1984, when President Reagan said America would welcome international participation in the project, the United States went into greater detail.

Yet to this day we still don't know what the station will cost to run and what users will be charged.

Even so, the Europeans, Canadians and Japanese agreed in September to join the project.

The Federal Republic of Germany has a DM3bn-DM4bn stake in the development and construction of the space station by virtue of its contribution toward the Columbus research laboratory. Running costs are not included in this figure.

Esa, the European Space Agency, has not yet supplied the Germans with figures either, but it plans to do so in mid-October.

In view of this uncertainty the Research Ministry in Bonn has commissioned several surveys in the past two years to assess the follow-up costs.

Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber and Ministry officials are due to answer

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questions asked by the Bundestag finance committee this week.

But the course preliminary discussions took at the Ministry in mid-September makes it seem likely that MPs will not lose sleep over financial problems future parliaments may have to handle.

It is a different matter entirely in the United States, where Senator Barbara Mikulski, chair of the space allocations committee, insisted on Nasa submitting cost estimates in connection with the space station's design.

Nasa estimates design-to-life-cycle costs in order to come to grips with a project's follow-up costs while it is still at the design or development stage.

This cost estimate covers the entire "life cycle," from development and construction to operation, use and phase-out, or scrapping.

Rightly applied, this cost approach ought to pinpoint the advantages of alternative designs that might cut costs at the operational stage.

In one Nasa report, for instance, there are said to be potential savings of "several billion dollars" in life-support systems, propulsion and altitude control.

The designers are now expected to design the space station so as to ensure that life-cycle costs are the lowest possible in keeping with users' needs throughout the 30 years in which the station is expected to be in use.

In other words, heavier development expenditure should lead to lower running and user costs.

Such endeavours are usually doomed to failure when higher initial investment is needed. Its early days are always a large project's critical stage.

It is a stage at which projects can be cut down to size with relative ease because the funds allocated are still fairly limited and phasing the project out is easier politically.

According to a May 1988 report by the US General Accounting Office, Nasa has failed to achieve the aim of cutting life-cycle costs.

America's National Aeronautics and Space Administration is invariably preoccupied with the financial problems it faces in the current and next financial year.

It scaled down its targets accordingly, aiming at optimum life-cycle costs "within the constraints of a limited budget during the development stage," the GAO wrote.

Does that mean limitation of life-cycle costs is as dead as the dodo? In space research such a short-sighted approach, along *après moi la déluge* lines, would amount to yet another failure in German research policy, a failure on a part with the billions wasted on the high-temperature and fast breeder reactors.

High follow-up costs for space systems would in Germany mean not only competing research sectors coming a cropper but space research itself having to scrap ambitious plans such as the Sänger space shuttle.

In future a growing proportion of the German space budget will be invested in operation and maintenance costs of existing systems.

Less and less will be available for new systems, let alone for research development, according to the Campus Verlag book *Raumfahrt und Verteidigung as Industriepolitik?* (Space and Development as Industry Policy?) by Alexander Gerybadze of the consultants Arthur D. Little International.

In view of this alarming trend, ways of coming to grips better with the follow-up costs of large-scale projects are urgently needed.

It is up to the government to set cost guidelines for research projects, but the Bonn government has handed over most of its powers in space research to Esa in Paris.

In comparison with Nasa, Esa employs a strictly limited number of engineers. Tasks that Nasa handles itself (at one of its research centres) are tendered out to industry by Esa.

The main contractor for the Columbus space station is MBB-Erno in Bremen. Greater participation by industry would be handy to ensure that projects were costed, and costed properly from the outset.

Space research agencies ought to be accountable for the follow-up costs of their hardware right from the development stage. *Andreas Karweger*

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 1 October 1989)

■ ANNIVERSARY

Heidegger is critically scrutinised in his birth centenary year

When he died 13 years ago Martin Heidegger was praised as one of this century's greatest philosophers. The verdict is not quite as unanimous on Heidegger's birth centenary. In a fresh dispute on Heidegger's activities on behalf of National Socialism Rainer Marten, professor of philosophy in Freiburg, contends: "The philosophy is the problem, not the person." Following his first encounter with Heidegger Marten moved from Munich to Freiburg in 1949. He stayed with Heidegger for 12 years, as an independent pupil rather than an obedient disciple, as he emphasises. In recent years he has taken a critical look at Heidegger and his works in a series of lectures and publications.

In Bremen, in autumn 1949, Martin Heidegger gave three lectures on the subject *Einblick in das was ist* (Insight into that which is) to a highly educated audience.

One member of the audience called to mind the Christian Communion and the ideal world of the early Church.

Heidegger, who renounced his Catholic faith at the age of 30 and then turned towards existentialist philosophy, was infuriated.

"If you refer to that then it means that the devil is *sitting here!*" he shouted, pointing to himself.

Heidegger was still upset the next day. At 60 he was just as vehement in the defence of "his" subject, philosophy, as he was to be as an 80-year-old.

What was his motivation and how does it affect us today?

Martin Heidegger, who was born in Messkirch (Baden) on 26 September 1889 and who died in Freiburg on 26 May 1976 left behind an extensive legacy.

Between 1923 and 1928 he lectured in Marburg and then — interrupted by a compulsory break until 1945 — in Freiburg up until the 1960s.

His thoughts revolved around a single topic: the relationship between man and "being" *(Sein)*.

The unique importance Heidegger attached to this relationship, the untiring imaginativeness with which he shrouded it in mystery, and his bizarre and provocative language are still fascinating today.

An unfavourable light, however, has been cast on his personal integrity since publications by Victor Farias (1987) and Hugo Ott (1988) revived the discussion on Heidegger's highly controversial pro-Nazi activities.

With an unparalleled sense of emotional commitment and zest Heidegger placed himself at the disposal of Nazi ideology in 1933 in his capacity as vice-chancellor of the university of Freiburg.

He even laid claim to the intellectual leadership of the "German university" for the entire "movement."

As late as 1936 Heidegger still insisted on the Hitler salute at the beginning of his lectures, even though it was no longer compulsory.

On a visit to Rome that same year he wore a Nazi lapel badge even though nobody asked him to do so.

Whenever pestered by critics after the war to retract his activities for the Nazis he either turned away brusquely (meeting with Rudolf Bultmann), played off — in anticipation of the Hillgrubers and Noltes ("historians' dispute") of today — Hitler against Stalin (letters to Herbert Marcuse and Karl Jaspers) or remained silent (movement with Paul Celan).

In a constrictingly and stubbornly self-righteous publication published by his son, Hermann Heidegger, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the seizure of power by the Nazis in 1933 Heidegger claims that all the good promised by Nazi ideology would have materialised if "all capable forces in 1933" had followed his own example and actively supported the Nazi cause.

With no discontinuity Heidegger reiterated his claim that his philosophical approach was the only way to discover "essential man" in his *Humanismusbrief* in 1947.

During the 1950s he informed a young audience just how many university chairs were again held by Jews.

In his own eyes and in the eyes of his followers, however, this apparently had little relevance. Some even regard Heidegger as a member of the German resistance.

The best way to criticise a philosopher is philosophically. Let us take a closer look at Heidegger's ideas on "being" and "man".

Nothing is more informative in this respect than Heidegger's conception of the Greeks.

Heidegger felt that only the Greek civilisation represented real philosophy and the intellectual home of his own ideas on being and man.

He mainly contrasts this "true" Greek civilisation with the Roman-Christian and the Mathematical-Technical worlds.

In his opinion Roman civilisation is simply an imperial gesture which makes

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it impossible to belong to occidental humanity.

Christianity has also lost its value — the God of creation being no more than a technical notion, the Biblical command to subjugate the earth an order of devastation, and the Curia a stronghold for the exercising of power.

Heidegger can only find his "essential" man among the Greeks.

The Egyptians, Sumerians, Chinese and Indians do not count at all, and even the Greeks are "screened": only the "pre-Socratic" philosophers, Anaximander, Parmenides and Heraclitus, belong to the "true" Greek civilisation.

Only these Greeks thought "primordially", like Plato and Aristotle, since only they "consummated" the Greek beginning.

Just as "the Greeks" represent the "beginning" it is "the Germans" who, in Heidegger's view, represent the "final" stage.

Only the Germans, together with the ancient Greeks the only "people of philosophers," can be expected to save the west from the dangers it faces.

"The planet is ablaze. The essence of man is awry. The consciousness of world history... can only come from the Germans," Heidegger contends in his lecture on Heraclitus in summer 1943.

Only the Germans are destined to, if need be, "sacrifice human existence to protect the truth of being," says Heidegger in his Parmenides lecture.

Admittedly, the Greeks as depicted by Heidegger — their philosophy, their political life, their gods and, above all, their language — never existed.

Between his *Sein und Zeit* (1927) and *Zeit und Sein* (1962) there was not a single fundamental position which the "primordial philosopher" Heidegger had not stood on its head.

"Read Aristotle for fifteen years first," he used to say in his seminars. All fundamental concepts of Aristotelian philosophy — "being," "truth," "time," "nature" and "language" — are interpreted so contrarily to their philosophical content that Aristotle becomes unrecognisable.

For Aristotle, for example, "nature" does not represent an independent "being," no "being-there" as Heidegger claims, but the respective principle of form and movement "within" an object.

Heidegger's entire late philosophy, however, is pervaded with this false concept of nature as the basis of "Greek" interpretation of "being."

Heidegger removed the irritating "within" in Aristotle's original text by italicising it in his first translation, putting it in inverted commas in his second one and then not mentioning it at all after that.

In a fragment of Heraclitus, whose interpretation Heidegger gave me, one of his third-semester students in Munich, to read in autumn 1949 prior to its publication, we find the sentence: "Nature loves to conceal itself."

In this sense, for example, Herodotus refers to the "nature" of the Nile. During its calm and sluggish period there is no sign of the power which suddenly appears when its waters surge.

The same applies to a plant, whose exterior does not immediately indicate whether it is edible or poisonous, benign or malignant.

For his own concept of being, however, Heidegger requires a different concept of nature — a nature which is to understood as a "coming-into-being" *(Aufgehen)* or an "unconcealing" *(Sichentbergen)*.

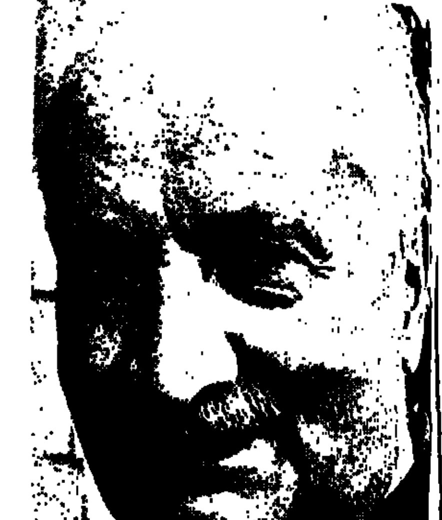
Heidegger dismisses the claim that nature "loves concealing" itself from us, that it "likes" doing this as the philologists would say, as a "pretty old-maidish notion."

He simply translates *Natur* (nature) with *Aufgaben* and *Lieben* (loving) with *Gönnen*, leaving Heidegger's translation of the Heraclitus fragment as follows: *"Das (immerdar) Aufgehen dem Sichverbergen schenkt's die Gunst."*

"Nature" as a pure and simple "coming-into-being of existence" — according to Heidegger anyone who translates Heraclitus in any other way makes it impossible for the Germans to find the true German civilisation and for the Greeks to be the "true" Greeks. They sin against occidental humanity.

It is the German word, Heidegger insists, which first enables a proper understanding of what the "true" Greeks really meant.

Consequently, only German thinking can find the words able to lend the history of the occident its true dimension and thus find a philosophical expression for a possible danger to us all.



Martin Heidegger (Photo:

Only one God can save "us," Heidegger explains in an interview with *Der Spiegel* in 1966 — a final and a German one, of course.

This concept of an occidental "history of being" no longer has anything to do with the real history of mankind.

In Heidegger's opinion the Greeks who really lived, spoke, thought and acted politically and religiously are just as "utopian" as the Persians, Egyptians, Romans, Christians, Jews, cosmopolitans, scientists and technicians, indeed as ourselves — without firm ground, without roots, without a home and without substance.

Heidegger needs "the Greeks" for other reasons — on the one hand, to construct his mission for "the Germans," on the other hand, to dramatise and make his own philosophy of being irrefutable.

The persuasive force of his philosophy results from the way in which he posits it as a struggle with the overriding "greatness" of the "primordial" Greek spirit.

Only about half-a-dozen philosophers are regarded by Heidegger as "true" Greeks. Even less German philosophers pass the test.

Although Heidegger declares Kant, Schelling, Hegel and Nietzsche to be German, and even describes Leibniz as the "most German" of German philosophers, they are completely committed to the "oblivion" of the Greek "beginning."

He regards himself as the only philosopher who really understands the beginning as the beginning and Hölderlin as the only poet who does so.

Heidegger's interpretation of "the Greeks" not only fascinates German readers anew as a bold, original, genuine, deep and far-sighted philosophy.

There is an inimitable line of intellectual argument, the substantial never drifting into the irrelevant, the history, destiny and even the salvation of the occident are heralded.

Many contemporaries, however, are increasingly irked and alarmed by Heidegger's works.

For what are the implications if man can only be attributed dignity from the Graeco-German "history of being"?

If a single people or race respectively is viewed as the "universal" equation of man this discriminates against man's existence worldwide.

True intellectual man eradicates the theory — "unintellectual" man as the embodiment of existing being.

This is not maliciously interpreted

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■ EDUCATION

Parents, teachers and employers are all critical of school grading system

Baron Gunthram von Schenck no longer laughs at anecdotes about the essay German teachers awarded grades ranging from "very good" to "poor."

There is too much bitter truth in the story. As a father he is well aware of the eternal trouble with unfair marking.

Just how good or poor a child is at his school work depends often not just on his capacities but on his teacher's character.

All too frequently what the teacher thinks, how he or she makes judgments, and what conduct he or she rewards remains a teacher's secret.

Baron von Schenck, honorary chairman of the Lower Saxony Parents Council, complained: "All too often we have no idea about standards by which grades are awarded at school."

This disquiet is voiced frequently by many parents in Lower Saxony, at least so the Parents Council believes. So it devoted two days to a seminar on the subject.

The results cannot be gratifying to those who put little store in marking. Poor marks from an unfair teacher are often a life-long trauma of a person's first failure in life.

Grading pupils' work may well be unfair to many but there is no alternative. This is a tough judgment, made by those who are frequently themselves the first target of the critics, teachers.

The Lower Saxony branch of the German Teachers Association was invited to the conference and representatives from industry also turned up.

But the varied group of participants in the seminar did not enliven it. Where discord was expected there was pure harmony.

A spokesman for the teachers emphasised that they were plainly handicapped, particularly if parents went to court for better marks in the end-of-year school report.

Nevertheless teachers did not get off scot-free. The image of good, helpful teachers, always fair, has been marred.

Angela Haak, representing parents, has collected together various experiences. While history teachers give good marks in oral examinations for quality, geography teachers tend to reward quantity in their oral exams.

Angela Haak said: "The precocious child gets a one, the quiet child who listens fails. That can't be right."

To this can be added the variety in teaching. One teacher only occasionally pulls out his notebook and asks questions here and there in the class. Another teacher is a martinet, assessing every answer, and puts ...

If need be, parents would accept teaching peculiarities, if they at least knew the reasons for them.

Angela Haak said: "I know of cases in which not only pupils and parents but the teacher himself was not sure at the middle of the school year how he should assess various abilities."

Many mothers and fathers suspect teachers of simply copying the mark in the oral exam in the written work, or taking the report of the previous year as the basis for their own judgment.

Lower Saxony Education Minister Horst Horrmann has sympathy for such concern. In his speech at the opening of the symposium he said that school reports were in need of improvement and called on teachers to reflect "on the personalities of their pupils."

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But in doing so Minister Horrmann did not venture to question the grading system as such.

His ministerial councillor, Albrecht Pohle, then sketched out the negative side of school reports without being able to offer an alternative system.

He said that these reports were designed to serve as a stimulus and have a disciplining effect, but these could be counter-productive.

Albrecht Pohle conceded that a series of failures did not encourage a child to greater efforts.

His next comment cast doubt on all educational ideals. It was like a bolt of thunder.

He said that marks only had the effect of acting as a gauge of ability within the group. "Where there are many very good pupils, the good cannot shine. There have to be duds in every class," he commented.

To ameliorate the disadvantages Herr Pohle recommended the course demanded by parents. Teachers should be more open so that pupils could be helped to some purpose at home.

These steps were not adequate for industry. Rainer Liefold of the Dresdner Bank receives 2,000 job applications annually. Because there is too little time for personal talks with applicants he is obliged to select applicants from their school reports. He confessed that he did so unwillingly.

People with good marks in German and mathematics have difficulties in thinking in terms of numbers and "embarrassing errors" appear in applications.

He continued: "Because no more trust is placed in reports personnel managers take note of the school or university an applicant has attended. Furthermore the company's own tests have gained in significance."

"This was not a matter of putting a cross in a box on a questionnaire. More and more we go through specific situations with the young people," he explained.

Heinz Lüer from Siemens said: "What is more important is the ability to learn." Because within five years his organisation will be operating with quite different technological standards, the younger generation of company employees will not only have to be computer-oriented. They will primarily have to have a command of the language, the means of learning and teaching.

The consequences are obvious. More and more children will be entered into high school, fewer for lower-grade secondary schools.

Well-intentioned teachers give overtaxed pupils at least a four, which means "not really satisfactory" as a German school grade. Parents do not venture to protest against their stricter colleagues, who show unfounded firmness.

The state Parents Council wants to tackle the question of the extensive contact difficulties between worried parents, teachers, who keep their own counsel more often than not, and employers who take on school-leavers.

Specialist conferences should take seriously their task of establishing the principles of awarding marks. This is particularly important in allocating the subject-matter of oral examinations.

Once a year all teachers must attend further training courses within the school — an opportunity taken up only sporadically until now.

The state Parents Council was critical of the role played by the school supervisory authorities. The schools inspectors were usually only called in under strong protest, so as to get some idea of the methods of controversial teachers.

Baron von Schenck said: "That should not happen only when parents complain. The supervisory authorities should be much more active."

He did not regard it as taboo to transfer overtaxed teachers. He said: "In doing so we are doing those concerned a favour." *Klaus Wallbaum*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 September 1989)

How schools are to counteract right-wing trend

Has anti-fascist education in the Federal Republic failed? This was the question asked by teachers, educationalists, trades unionists, pupils and sociologists at a symposium organised by the GEW, the teachers union, at Cologne Technical College.

The symposium was entitled "Right-wing extremism and neo-fascism — education's tasks within school and externally."

The participants and speakers at the symposium were self-critical. In view of the success of the extreme right-wing Republican Party among the young, the teachers and trades unionists at the Cologne conference asked: What have we done wrong?

Wolfgang Uellenberg, from the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, included the trades unions in his criticism.

The election results in Duisburg and Dortmund, as well as what has been observed at meetings of company employees, showed that trades unionists took a resigned attitude to prevailing xenophobia or were themselves susceptible ...

But it was interesting that none of the speakers were prepared to label right-wing extremism as neo-fascism.

Wilhelm Heitmeyer, a youth social worker from Bielefeld, saw the origins of the prevailing right-wing extremism not in a revival of National Socialist ideas or the attraction of Nazi organisations.

Herr Heitmeyer saw the Republicans as a "bridging party" between the conservative camp and the old Nazi and nationalist groups.

The nationalist groups were regarded as acceptable, even normal. According to Herr Heitmeyer the supporters of nationalist and xenophobic ideas did not identify themselves with National Socialist crime.

He saw the origins of susceptibility to right-wing radicalism in the experience of rivalry and individualisation in society.

Schools were also responsible for propagating the social idea that the strongest won. This led to the imperative that the stronger must win.

Young people were prone to taking up this idea, young people gripped with the fear of being unable to cope with relationships in life. The predictability of the young person's future declined, the compulsion to plan for changing demands increased.

An increasing proportion of young people seek certainty in this confused situation, certainty which is offered by the right-wing.

The growing pressure to mobility and flexibility produces on the one hand the wish for continuity and, on the other, the wish for authoritarian models to be guided by.

Heitmeyer believes that right-wing extremism originates not from the fringes of society but at society's centre.

It is the reverse side of modernity. People who call for dealing with right-wing radicalism by banning it are themselves just giving expression to their own bad conscience.

The speakers at the symposium were agreed that it was more questionable to stamp young supporters of nationalist groups as Nazis.

"Not every skinhead displaying the swastika is a Nazi. Not every young lad who clashes with a foreigner is xenophobic," Herr Heitmeyer said.

The teachers were self-critical. Many described the situation in terms which were too simple.

They painted the picture of a friendly society, free of conflicts and made a taboo of the real problems which have arisen through people of various nationalities and cultural streams living together. They did not take seriously the fears young people have of foreigners.

What conclusions can be drawn for education from this socio-psychological analysis?

Peter Dudek, a Frankfurt teacher, demanded that the idea should be dropped that historical explanations about National Socialism would be an effective means of countering growing right-wing extremism among young people.

"Nothing politically or educationally is gained by looking askew at Auschwitz or warning about another 1933," he commented.

He said that we needed new concepts for youth work, which were involved in the problems young people face, who are devoted to phantasies of violence of right-wing extremist examples.

Describing these to young people as being politically alien showed educational bankruptcy, he maintained.

During the discussions a secondary school teacher spoke about the skinheads in his class, skinheads who talked about the lies of Auschwitz and who beat up punks and foreigners, meaning usually young Turks.

Jochen Schweitzer of the GEW national executive said:

"Teachers must be something more than just adults teaching in a classroom. They must also try to create ties with the children and young people they teach."

One pupil said that he had not noticed in the various analyses any political involvement among the teachers.

Jochen Schweitzer said that obviously it was not intended "to prescribe

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■ ENVIRONMENT

Water, water, everywhere – and not a drop to drink?

The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the few countries in the world that is regarded as having more than enough water of its own. But even water isn't what it was.

From October new European Community regulations apply to the pesticide count in drinking water, and the alarm bell has been rung.

Now we know *how little confidence* chemists, toxicologists, water experts and ecologists have in our H_2O, many Germans take a more sceptical view of what runs out of the tap.

At least 1,000 of the country's 6,000 waterworks are said to be unable to meet the new ceiling of a ten millionth of a gram of pesticide per litre.

Waterworks that exceed this limit must shut down unless they are granted a temporary, two-year exemption.

Talk of "poisoning the well" has been known to give rise to panic. The most microscopic quantities of poison in the water we drink affect us more seriously than North Sea pollution.

Small wonder that politicians and ecologists have taken the opportunity of blowing their own trumpets.

Greenpeace chemist Klaus Lanz says exemption provisions are a disgrace, while the Greens have called for a DM7bn emergency programme next year.

Farmers and the chemical industry stand accused of poisoning water resources. Farmers have certainly sprayed crops with pesticide for decades, pesticides that aren't biodegradable and have leaked energetically into the water table with the rain.

The quality of water pumped to the surface depends on how deep the well is.

At a depth of 200 metres (656ft) water is reached that has been there for 20,000 years. It is far less problematic than water from nearer the surface.

A comprehensive countrywide survey of water quality in the Federal Republic is not yet available; the only complete set of figures we have are for Bavaria and North Rhine-Westphalia.

Central laboratories such as those of the Hamburg and Hanover water boards carry out analyses for wide catchment areas, but a specific water quality cannot, in any case, be taken as final.

Water is kept on the move, and so its quality is in a constant state of flux.

Specifying a pollution ceiling is one matter; proving the existence of a toxin is another.

The European Community laid down, in its 1980 drinking water regulations that have now, after years of delay, come into force in Germany, that the only permitted pesticides are those that can be identified by chemical analysis.

But that is easier said than done. Eight years later the German Gas and Water Board Federation says that suitable laboratory analysis techniques are only available to identify 80 of the 280 pesticide substances in use in the Federal Republic.

The situation is totally unclear where their metabolites, the substances into which they break down, are concerned.

Eight-year field trials involving a single dose of Quintizen, a fungicide, have revealed the emergence of 32 different metabolites.

Legions of research chemists and laboratory staff would be needed to identify all the reactions between agents spread and sprayed on soil and crops and substances that already exist in the soil.

Who, after all, can say whether degradation products are toxic and, if so, in what doses and in compound with what other chemicals?

If you only spend enough time looking for a substance you are bound to come across it sooner or later, using the latest chemical analysis techniques. So it is hardly surprising that no-one really knows what exactly the water contains and what effect it has on the human body.

Unlike soil pollution, of which the source can usually be identified, and with it the person or body that is to blame, a specific source of ground water pollution cannot be identified.

Areas are listed as water catchment zones in order to ensure that oil isn't pumped into the ground near water wells and that farmers don't tip slurry onto surrounding fields without a care in the world.

But listed areas are misleading, to put it mildly. If they are to be effective, they must be protected over a wide area from possible sources of pollution such as chemical factories, hospitals, battery farms and even cemeteries.

But where is that possible in the Federal Republic? Up to 40 groups are entitled to lobby and to a say in the listing of protected zones.

Large-scale transformation of farming techniques to ecological methods, as called for by the Greens in particular, might definitely improve the situation in the long term, but not even this change will filter existing toxins out of the ground and the ground water.

That is why a Pesticides Act has been proposed by Greenpeace to deal with the root cause of the problem by requiring every permitted pesticide to be retrievable from the environment.

Pesticides must also be easily identified in even the most minute concentrations.

These demands are so far-fetched that even the Greens felt they were too unrealistic. Other parties have, as expected, been even more circumspect, referring to the provisions of the Plant Protection Act.

The Health and Agriculture Ministries want to wait until agreement is reached for the entire European Community on the licensing of pesticides.

But in Brussels agreement has so far been reached on only 60 of 460 specified pesticide agents. The Eurocrats are most unlikely to reach agreement on the remaining 400 in the foreseeable future.

Making licensing procedures stricter is, of course, fairly easy, but winning court cases, waiving existing licences, proving toxicity and compensating farmers is much more difficult.

Licensing criteria must, for one, be harmonised throughout the Community. What is more, the many substances into which pesticides break down in the soil must be shown to be harmless.

Votes may be won by investing billions in emergency programmes and by strong words about farmers facing an emergency, but they alone aren't going to make the water any purer.

In all probability it will first grow more expensive. Baden-Württemberg has already imposed a pollution surcharge on water rates to make consumers pay for farmers agreeing not to use pesticides and to make do with lower crop yields in certain areas.

When the European Community specified a pollution ceiling of 0.1 micrograms per litre it was intended as a political signal designed to force member-countries to put a stop to ground water pollution.

It wasn't intended as a level above which cancer might be caused. Exact figures on toxicity and its repercussions are simply not available.

So it is hardly surprising that the World Health Organisation and the US Environmental Protection Agency specified much higher water pollution ceilings.

They are why exemptions are sure to be granted in cases where the European Community ceiling is exceeded.

For the next two years health authorities have gained a breathing space. The alternative, an immediate shutdown of many wells, would mean dezoning more and more catchment areas and concentrating water supplies on fewer and fewer central facilities.

No-one can seriously want that to happen.

As long as drinking water is amply available in fairly good quality, the idea of using separate mains and drains for drinking water and water for other uses will not be very popular.

It is hard to see why the last trace of toxin should be eliminated at enormous expense, by filtration or chlorination, from water that is then flushed straight through the toilet or put to industrial use.

In the long term, experts say, ground water pollution cannot be brought to a halt, not even by the most ingenious licensing provisions for pest- and weed-killers.

Toxins find their way into the soil via precipitation, i.e. rainfall. Acid rain activates toxic aluminium and heavy metal ions in the soil; they both cause forest damage and seep into the ground water.

So water resources are a time-bomb. We will probably not live to see it explode, but later generations are sure to be confronted with the consequences of our negligence.

Hans-Anton Papendieck

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 September 1989)

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cures or even a hasty revised definition of political-historical education within and outside the school."

Dieter Wunder, GEW general secretary, wound up the symposium with an appeal for a new youth and social policy which would take into account the uncertainty in the lives of young people today and help them to enter into working life.

He said that what was necessary was a model of how to be friendly, in a credible way, to foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany, a country with a large foreign community.

Karl-Heinz Heinemann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 September 1989)

■ HEALTH & SAFETY

VDU and DTP operators run serious risk of rheumatism and an early pension



Twelve women in the central typing pool sit virtually motionless at their word processors, their arms at an angle. Their fingers move easily, rhythmically and fast across the keyboard.

Some gaze earnestly at their copy, others use headphones and sit ramrod-straight; the slightest fidgeting could cause snap, crackle and pop in their earphones.

Specialists in industrial medicine call sitting in positions such as these "forced postures." In the long term they ruin the spinal column.

The discs, or flexible layers between the vertebrae, need movement. When the burden imposed on them is eased they increase their nutrient intake.

Under normal exertion they release spent substances. Under one-sided pressure, which is greater when seated than when standing, the discs are inadequately supplied.

They grow brittle as a result and no longer work as shock absorbers. In the long term degenerative changes affect both discs and vertebrae. They are irreversible.

The spine is not alone in suffering from the monotonous physical activity of typing. Rigid posture also leads to poor circulation in shoulder, neck and arm muscles. They tire easily, are painful and grow stiff and hard.

This pain leads to even poorer posture, adopted to alleviate or preclude *pain*, but in reality making it even worse.

"My head first ached," says Inge Kienitz, 55. "Then my neck and shoulders grew extremely painful.

"The pain later extended to my loins, my arms and the joints of my hands and fingers. In the end I could hardly hold a ballpoint pen."

Inge Kienitz hasn't spent a lifetime lugging bricks round building sites; she spent 35 years in an office working as a typist.

"I was regularly sent to spas for treatment. Then I had to go to hospital. Eventually, when I could no longer really manage, I had injections in my elbow joints and popped pills. And a fat lot of good it did me!"

She has been pensioned off at 55, disabled by rheumatism.

It is a high price to pay. The victim suffers daily pain and serious handicaps at work and in private life.

Health care, spa treatment and industrial disability pensions cost society between DM20bn and DM30bn a year.

Inge Kienitz is no exception. A British survey the findi[illegible] been published says VDU operators often suffer from states of anxiety and depression.

Scientific staff at the department of medical sociology at Eppendorf University Hospital, Hamburg, have carried out a wide range of tests on roughly 200 female local authority office staff to gain a clearer insight into how rheumatic complaints develop.

Their workplaces were examined and the work they did was scrutinised by specialists in industrial medicine. They were asked how they rated the strain and their complaints and what they did about them.

"Wear and tear of motive and support organs is a significant health factor inasmuch as prevention is possible," says epidemiologist Wilfried Karmaus, in charge of the research project.

The difficulty is that complaints of the kind Frau Kienitz describes from which people suffer at work "do not breach a social taboo in the way that lethal complaints such as cancer do."

That is why industrial complaints of this kind go largely unheeded even though the cost is enormous.

The people affected usually accept them as inevitable, and probably their own fault too. They almost invariably try to conceal them for as long as they can.

As the number of known cases of office ailments increases, so the number of unknown cases increases, and with work at computer screens on the increase, more and more women will work eight-hour days at VDUs and word processors, and many will continue to suffer without so much as a murmur.

The Hamburg survey shows that nearly all women questioned and medically examined suffer from minor to medium-scale complaints of the neck vertebrae and shoulders, with consequent headaches.

Much the same applies to complaints of the lower back. Half the office staff checked were found to suffer from painful elbow joints.

A properly designed office chair is most important, says orthopaedic specialist Bernd Reinhardt. But you have to learn how to use it.

He recommends chair backs with a "kidney pouch" to support discs and muscles in the small of the back. And learning how to sit properly.

Lean back and take it easy. Lean forward and rest your arms on the desk. These are relaxing exercises that stimulate the "pumping mechanism" of discs, a mechanism that plies them with oxygen and nutrients.

"Office chairs must have adjustable backs to make this possible," says Herr Karmaus, "and work routines must ensure time leeway in which to take exercise."

Regular breaks in work at monitor screens are not yet mandatory. A survey by the health and safety executive has revealed that only one in four of 613 firms polled, with a total payroll of 20,000, have works or other agreements that specify regular breaks of this kind.

Most arrangements for breaks are agreed unofficially and are not legally binding.

Most women work under pressure to meet deadlines. "At times you just have to forget a break," they say.

If they finish their work on time, many — mostly younger — women skip their breaks to be able to leave work earlier.

Work-related breaks, such as slipping a fresh sheet of paper into the typewriter, virtually no longer occur at VDUs. So many operators grow accustomed to shelving their breaks in order to finish the task in hand.

Orthopaedic specialists never tire of stressing the importance of short breaks at work. They are best used to take joint exercises, they say.

There are plenty of exercises that don't take up much room, so workout routines are feasible at office desks.

Encouraged by the Hamburg survey, local authority office staff began to jointly stretch their backs and ease the pressure on their necks. But it didn't last. They soon gave it up.

"Pressure to perform, to comply with standards or to meet schedules is as dangerous as lack of movement in leading to degenerative rheumatism," says Hamburg University Hospital doctor Beate Ritz.

Pressure to perform not only stops clerical staff from taking their breaks; it also causes tension and intensifies the burden imposed on motive organs.

Pressure to perform combines work intensity and performance checks, sociologists say. Work intensity is no joke: typing requires serious concentration, especially when it is monotonous, meaningless and boring.

What is more, performance checks are constant and almost perfect in typing pools. That makes typists feel their job security depends on working faultlessly and to schedule.

How do women respond to pressures of this kind? What response opportunities are open to them?

Some just give up even though they need to earn a living. Others try to ease the burden by working part-time, thus transferring the problem to their spare time, as it were.

But many just accept it and pop pills they hope will both ease the pain and give them fresh energy to face the day.

Surveys have shown that 12 per cent of female clerical staff take painkillers at least once a week. Nine per cent take "uppers" or "downers" to make life bearable.

Pain must be taken seriously, Herr Karmaus says. It must be seen in the context of the daily workload. Chronic complaints such as wear and tear of the motive organs can only be prevented by tackling the root causes.

And that means identifying causes such as forced postures and performance pressure and "recognising, discussing and eliminating them as a joint problem."

Yet few of the office staff who took part in the Hamburg survey saw fit to do so. Performance pressure and job insecurity make them increasingly aware of the competition and tempted to make light of personal difficulties.

In an atmosphere of this kind readiness to stand up with others for one's rights is strictly limited.

Little help can be expected from outside sources, the survey shows. Trade unions are reluctant to tackle health problems, especially in office work, which is still often seen as a "cushy number."

"What is more, the transfer of industrial medicine's findings from the medical profession to the workplace via the trade unions is poorly organised," says Lothar Lissner of the Hamburg liaison unit.

The unit was set up to coordinate cooperation between the trade unions and university research departments.

As for the employers, "there are barriers to change, particularly in the higher ranks of the civil service," says Wilfried Karmaus.

They exist among both management and staff. Organisational problems arise, as does the inevitable question: "How much will it cost?"

The social cost of ill-health due to pressure of work is disregarded, he says.

Exceptions do occur, such as this example reported from the typing pool of a private firm.

Staff are grouped in teams that handle and are in charge of their own work schedules. They allocate jobs, arrange deadlines and settle details.

Monotonous work alternates with organisational tasks, stimulating communication and boosting qualification.

Despite alarming figures and a demonstrable link, degenerative rheumatism is still not classified as an industrial disease.

The sole exception is that since April 1988 work-related meniscus trouble has been acknowledged as an industrial disease in all categories of employment.

Bärbel Mannitz

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 30 September 1989)

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over hovertrain link will cost an estimated DM3.8bn, an Essen-Bonn link DM4bn. A Transrapid link between Cologne and Düsseldorf airports is increasingly being discussed in Bonn.

That would be a feeder service for Lufthansa, the German national airline, and one that didn't compete with the Bundesbahn, unlike the proposed hovertrain link between Hamburg and Hanover.

Yet a problem remains. How can the hovertrain possibly demonstrate the speed that is its strong point over a distance of 52 kilometres, or 31 miles?

What, for that matter, do local residents in built-up areas en route have to say about the idea? *Michael Brandt.*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 30 September 1989)

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to Heidegger's works but is an alarmingly self-evident inference.

The selected philosophers of "the Greeks" and Heidegger himself as the embodiment, as it were, of an intellectual race of its own.

In a still unpublished lecture given in summer 1934 Heidegger claimed that Negroes and minerals had one thing in common: they were both unable to think.

The logical conclusion would be that this inability to think makes Negroes unworthy of "being," a philosophical insult which merits the label "intellectual racism."

The appealing aspect of the construct of a "Graeco-German" mission to the unthinking reader is the cleverly packaged homoeopathic remedy.

All the Germans need do, says Heidegger, is to repeat the Greek "beginning" in an even more "primordial" manner in order to save the occident — providing the "destiny of being" plays its part.

As long as this possibility exists "there can be no decline of mankind on this earth", Heidegger announced as a 70-year-old in his native town.

He had changed his opinion ten years later.

In a letter to the psychoanalyst Medard Boss from Zurich, Heidegger then wrote:

"There is also a death of mankind; there is no reason why those who populate and destroy the planet in every possible way should continue to exist for ever."

It is almost as if the ageing philosopher began to think that western man was not worthy of his support.

Rainer Marten

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 September 1989)

■ NARCOTICS

Laundering must be stopped, drugs conference is told

Representatives from 15 industrialised nations met in Paris to develop an international strategy for dealing with the billions made by drugs barons in the narcotics trade.

The Americans are keenly interested in finding a solution to the problem of "narcotics billions." They have not been able to master their drug problem.

That is why President Bush has set in motion his unique campaign against the heroin and cocaine mafia, a campain which includes the question of laundering the billions made from illegal drug-trafficking.

International drug dealers have a turnover of at least $300bn annually, made from the misery of the addicted. This enormous amount of money eventually ends up in the hands of the international drugs barons.

Swiss drugs expert Paolo Bernasconi, a former prosecutor-general, said that most of this money was in cash, which was the drug barons' Achilles' heel.

It was common in early gangster films to pay for houses, real estate or other capital investments with suitcases full of cash, but in real life that makes people suspicious.

This is why bank notes earned from drug-trafficking have to be reintroduced into normal circulation.

The drug barons have achieved their aims when these crooked earnings have been laundered and can be transferred to bank accounts and moved about here and there.

Furthermore when the cash has been laundered it can earn interest and can be transferred through the banking system to finance capital acquisitions without risk.

Switzerland is the most favoured country for laundering illegal drug earnings, for discretion is a point of honour in Swiss banking. But sound Zürich banking institutions are facing hard times. Their high reputation has been knocked sideways by South African business and insider trading.

Swiss bankers are now being attacked because at the end of last year it was possible to prove that the drugs mafia had laundered many billions of marks in Switzerland recently, which has brought Swiss bankers under fire.

Couriers from a "Lebanon Connection" have brought into Zürich banks suitcases of drug money. This is why Swiss banking institutions have accused their own presidents of looking the other way when this drug money came their way.

Demands are being made that their business affairs should be "more ethical." Then the Americans have issued threats of banning Swiss banking institutions from operating in the United States unless laundering drug money is halted.

But that is easier said than done. Unwittingly lawyers, accountants and middlemen have exchanged the cash into large-denomination notes and then moved it into other currencies, before moving it abroad, where traces of it disappear.

The difficulty is in identifying the illegal origins of this money. Many bankers stand accused of being not particularly interested in knowing this, for by refusing to handle this dirty money they would lose billions.

Experts are convinced that laundering drug money is not confined to Switzerland. The earnings from narcotics dealings are laundered in the Federal Republic as well.

The Bundeskriminalamt (BKI), Germany's Wiesbaden-based CID, estimates that as much as eight billion deutschemarks are laundered in the Federal Republic annually.

But investigators and examining judges have their hands tied. One expert from Wiesbaden pointed out that "laundering cash in the Federal Republic is not a criminal offence."

Even if a banker accepts money, which he knows comes from shady quarters, he has no trouble with the law.

But all this is to be changed, primarily *because of international pressure.* Proposals for change have been on the cards for years, but transposing these proposals into law has taken time.

Bonn is now prepared to adjust guidelines to current law and has signed the United Nations Convention concerning dealing in drugs.

The most important measures include imposing heavy fines on arrested drug dealers in future so that the profits they have made from drug-trafficking are siphoned off. The fines will only be limited by the extent of the dealer's personal fortune.

It is obviously more difficult for the government to act against laundering money. Amendments to the Narcotics Act should mean that anyone in future discovered to be involved in having laundered money, or assisting in doing so, could be imprisoned for up to 15 years.

But the central problem remains: what precautions must a banker take when a client has many dealings in large amounts of cash?

Evasive answers are given in Frankfurt banking circles when bankers are asked if illegal drug-money has been processed through accounts in Frankfurt banks. The image of the three monkeys quickly comes to mind: hear nothing, see nothing, say nothing.

Federal Republic bankers would not be able to claim ignorance if standard legislation were introduced here similar to that proposed for Switzerland.

The Swiss plan to lay down precise rules about bankers' obligations in dealing with large sums of cash. It will become a criminal offence for anyone who should have supposed that he was concerned with dirty money.

Swiss bankers feel they are being *forced into the position of being* "agents of the police." Robert Studer, president of the Swiss Bank Corporation, said that bankers could not regard all clients as potential criminals and examine for its origins every large sum that moved through the bank.

He pointed out that supervision of this sort was impractical. He said: "The Swiss Bank Corporation alone handles more than 75,000 transactions daily."

But Swiss bankers have for some time been obliged to look more closely at customers who open accounts with them or who want to exchange more than 100,000 Swiss francs.

Most bankers, however, only photocopy identification papers and do not go far into what "commercial justifications" are behind a deal. This should have been done and has now become law. They will also be required to investigate the sources of the money.

The situation is more advanced in the United States. Banks must report to the authorities the identity of anyone paying into an account more than $10,000.

Bonn could not countenance controls of this sort, for such controls would weaken banking confidentiality in the Federal Republic.

The recent dispute over withholding tax showed just how important for the government banking secrecy is. The European Community has demanded that control measures should be introduced in the Federal Republic to make it more difficult to evade tax on capital earnings but the government has until now not been able to push through such measures.

Everyone knows what happened to efforts to introduce taxation at source – they were suspended.

Peter Struck, an SPD financial expert, said that his party hoped to come to grips with banking secrecy through the question of laundering money.

According to a report which he produced after a visit to the US as head of delegation, control measures have proved their worth in the United States.

The American tax authorities receive seven million reports annually not only from banks but from gambling casinos, jewellers and all other commercial enterprises where laundering money is theoretically possible. Every payment in cash over $10,000 is investigated.

Experts are doubtful whether this would be possible in the Federal Republic. In the US credit cards are *widely used so* that payments in cash are *not so frequent.*

Experts in the Federal *Republic believe* that such reporting would *be prohibitively* expensive and loaded *with red* tape.

Furthermore the drug barons use front men when they want to smuggle money back into circulation. Control measures would not help very much in this case.

Would drug-trafficking be affected anyway if legislation against laundering money were enacted?

It is absolutely certain that the cocaine kings can *find* enough opportunities all over the world for smuggling their dirty money back into the financial system.

Paulo Bernasconi said: "That is why it is important that laundering money is attacked at an international level."

He said that those countries who avoided introducing *stronger controls* were running the risk of attracting dirty money for laundering because of their lax regulations.

Until such times as an international strategy is developed the drug barons can launder their money undisturbed.

Thomas Wüpper

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 September 1989)

'No illusions:' German police feel hamstrung

The latest coup by the Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), Germany's Wiesbaden-based CID, against the drug mafia was part of a joint action, with the police authorities in Europe supporting Colombia's battle against the drug rings in Medellin.

But if a drug ring is smashed and 350 kilograms of cocaine is confiscated, the BKA labours under no ilusions: despite stricter controls dealers continue to bring narcotics into the Federal Republic.

Before the present clash began the drug-traffickers had brought into the Federal Republic and neighbouring countries vast quantities of cocaine in preparation for their offensive on the European drugs market.

Manfred Dihanich, cocaine expert at the BKA, believes there are enough supplies here to serve the market for six months.

Before the Colombian government's campaign against the Medellin dealers Dihanich warned that the cocaine problem had not been solved.

He said: "The problem will not be solved even if the cartel is smashed. There are many more cartels in South America." The coca plant is cultivated in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Brazil.

At present unadulterated, 95 per cent cocaine is sold at between DM150 and DM300 per gram in the Federal Republic. The purchase price is only about a tenth of this.

The price in Europe is about three times higher than it is in America, because smuggling costs for dealers are considerably greater in Europe.

Last year for example 600 kilograms of cocaine was confiscated. So far this year 1,250 kilograms has been confiscated. Experts believe that ten times the quantities confiscated get on the drugs market, showing the dimensions the business has achieved.

Dealers bring in small quantities on their own account and at their own risk. The cartels keep the transportation of large quantities under their own control.

Manfred Dihanich said: "Thirty kilograms is peanuts for the cartels. They do not bother with that."

This makes all the more significant the latest BKA success against the upper echelons of the drugs organisation, but the real bosses remain out of reach.

Drug investigators believe that the best would be to seize cash. But when the police and law authorities have tried to siphon off earnings from the drug trade they have got into difficulties.

In March the criminal investigation department confiscated DM20.2m deposited in a bank in Hamburg, which officials believed came from drugs trafficking.

But the dollars had to be released because it could not be proven that they came directly from *illicit* drug sales.

Federal Republic drugs *investigators* would prefer to have a legal *basis for their* work similar to that applied *in the US.*

In America it is *assumed* that a drug-dealer's wealth comes from dealing in narcotics. The criminal can only save his property when he can prove that it was acquired from legal activities.

Such a reversal of the burden of proof is not permissible according to German law. This is why Justice Minister Hans Engelhard must turn to other legislative methods to get hold of drug money. This is showed clearly in the draft legislation recently agreed by the *Länder.*

This legislation enables courts to sentence a person convicted of serious drug trafficking to at least two years' imprisonment as well as a heavy fine.

This fine can be calculated in such a way that the dealer losses all his property. It is of no importance whether the convicted person can prove that his wealth was gained by legal means. There are also legal problems with laundering drug money.

Drug money is "laundered" into cash which does not attract suspicion. This can involve, for example, paying false invoices from front companies. Or front men are used to get banks to process the money.

The drug organisations will not be brought to their knees as long as these possibilities exist. *Horst Zimmermann*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 28 September 1989)

■ PEOPLE

Businesswoman of the Year masters handicaps the fair sex faces



Erika Bischoff

(Photo: Bischoff-Gruppe)

Shipbroker Erika Bischoff was named "Businesswoman of the Year" in June. She was the fifth to be given the award. The jury was made up of senior executives from trade and industry.

Erika Bischoff, 48, is a Bremen shipbroker. For seven years she had headed the Bischoff Group, which includes a shipping company, a cargo-handling facility, a stowing company, and a brokerage agency for every kind of activity in marine and transport management.

The Group employs in all 400 and has an annual turnover of DM200m.

Erika Bischoff did not originally see her career following along the lines it has ultimately done. At the beginning of the 1960s she did a course of practical training with a carpenter's workshop and in a technical drawing bureau, hoping to prepare herself for studying interior design. But things did not turn out as planned.

In 1963 she married the son of the Bremen-based shipowner Bruno Bischoff. After her marriage she discontinued her studies and started a family. She has a son and daughter.

This is a typical career for a woman, broken by marriage and motherhood, and then only started again, if at all, late in life.

Early in her life she extensively had to reorient herself professionally: in 1966 her husband was tragically killed in a plane crash.

At 26 she entered her father-in-law's business as a shareholder in his limited-*liability* company, which was at the time in a difficult commercial situation.

Over the following years she took over more and more responsibility in the company.

In the certificate with the "Businesswoman of the Year" award the jury said that "her decisions demonstrated drive, foresight and diplomatic skill."

These are qualities which have helped her tackle the Bischoff Group's difficulties.

In 1982, when observers believed the Group had little chance of surviving, she decided to take notice of the urgings of her general manager and to take over the management of the whole enterprise.

In the space of a few years the Bischoff Group was reorganised. The consolidation phase was concluded in 1988. Outstanding debts were paid off, financial bottlenecks overcome and a sound capital structure for the extension of the group's [illegible]

Is this a model career which only a woman with exceptional abilities could achieve?

That Erika Bischoff was able to introduce the group into new sectors of activity, make it more efficient and acquire know-how for it, demonstrates that women have the qualities attributed to male entrepreneurs.

She has courage and self-confidence, a readiness for action and a preparedness to take risks, and finally determination and an ability to carry things through.

The 1989 winner of the "Businesswoman of the Year" is not alone in possessing these qualities. There are more than 500,000 independently employed women in the Federal Republic.

About 300,000 of them are businesswomen who employ a payroll of more than five or have an annual turnover of over one million marks.

Until the 1950s and 1960s most women got to the top of a company because they had inherited the company, either from parents or husband, or they had acquired a company already in existence.

Now every third company set up in the Federal Republic is established by a woman.

Dr Eva Odehnal, director of the Businesswomen's Association, divided the women who set up new companies into three groups:

— well-educated women who have professional qualifications and practical experience, women who cannot hope to move up the management ladder as far as they would like to;

— women who want to link career to family without any great expenditure and who see a happy combination of possibilities in being self-employed;

— and finally unemployed women who cannot find a job and who have decided to open their own small shop or business.

Only women in the first group have a good or very good chance of building up a company, according to the Businesswomen's Association.

"Those who are not really well qualified and who do not have good vocational training and experience, usually do not have the basic *qualities to* manage a small business. With a clear conscience one can advise them not to go ahead with founding a business," Eva Odehnal said.

Enthusiasm and a pleasure in doing business, although they are important, are not enough if the step into self-employment does not imply the exploitation of one's abilities but the creation of a judicious basis for one's livelihood.

"Women who want to found a company should have a realistic idea about

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their own strengths and weaknesses and work towards their aims with these in mind," Eva Odehnal recommended.

If women have appropriate qualifications and experience and they find a gap in the market, then their chances of building up a flourishing business are good.

One example of this is Cologne businesswoman Dörte Wehmeyer, 44. Her son was of primary school age when she became self-employed four years ago.

She was a trained secondary school teacher, but she did not want to remain in the profession. She wanted to break out into new fields.

She attended seminars and training courses in the Federal Republic and the USA on rhetoric and communications, and eventually set up her one-woman business, "Institute for Applied Linguistics and Creative Communications," in the basement of her house.

There are at the most only ten in the courses she offers. They study rhetoric and leadership. They develop their critical faculties and are trained in dealing with conflict situations, in self-assertion as well as in how to make compromises and deal with work colleagues with sensitivity.

Whole departments have attended her seminars to overcome difficulties of communication, which not only poison the atmosphere at the workplace but also have their effects on performance.

It was tough work at the beginning convincing and attracting a circle of clients, but Dörte Wehmeyer is satisfied with the way her company has developed.

Many women who want to set up their own businesses select the service industries. This course is chosen for a well-founded reason: much less capital is required in this sector than, say, setting up an industrial business.

Then, in the services sectors there are many more direct contacts with customers, and contacts and communication are assets which successful women and even career women put at the top of their list of qualities they want from their work.

Many women work as EDP consultants for small and medium-sized companies or as management consultants.

It does not matter if it is a one-woman show or a team, in consultancy their considerable abilities in communication, their patience, their sensitivity and their pleasure in making contacts come in useful, according to the Businesswomen's Association

In the meantime industry has discovered that women possess these qualities.

"Women already figure very considerably for top management jobs in the new technology, simply because the special qualities women have are needed there," Eva Odehnal said.

Alongside these qualities there is sound common sense, particularly in the sphere of inter-personal relations, in what has become well-known as "the feminine management style."

Eva Odehnal described the difference between this and the conventional male style of management in this way.

She said: "The male mainly takes the view that one has to appeal to people to motivate them. The individual must be the focal point of the male management style, along with the abilities he brings to the job.

"There can be no abstract job description into which workers are pressed and to which they must rigorously adjust."

Eva Odehnal said that most women did not want to be alone at the top:

"They prefer to have people around them with whom they can communicate. Certainly, as head of the company, they want to be at the centre of things, but not alone at the peak of a pyramid."

This management style is almost always conducive to a better atmosphere in the company, as well as higher productivity, as the case of shipowner Erika Bischoff in Bremen shows.

If businesswomen are able to build up an enthusiastic team of fellow-workers around them, then they are usually, with few exceptions, well on the way to success.

Most of them have a difficult time behind them before they move into the executive suite. Problems begin frequently at the job or profession planning stage which, even for career women, is characterised by many years of pointless manoeuvring for position.

In their book published by Rowohlt Verlag, *Rückwärts auf Stöckelschuhen... können Frauen so viel wie Männer?* Cheryl Benard and Edit Schlaffer graphically describe how much time a woman wastes until she finally reaches her career aspirations and can translate them into action.

Men know what kind of a job they want early on, and they work purposefully to this end.

Women, on the other hand, are haunted by uncertainty and there are many empty periods to their lives before they can get down to what they want to do as a job or profession.

They are late starters before they can set out as businesswomen, for example *This often does not happen until they* are 30, 35 or 40.

Women having a job or profession is regarded as a kind of supplementary insurance, as something done until they get married or they need to do when married when there is want in the family, or when the marriage has broken up.

"Many problems which businesswomen, and would-be businesswomen, have to cope with come from the world around them and are imposed on them psychologically," said Eva Odehnal.

They are assailed by so much mistrust and even accusations that would never be put to the male," she added.

How true. Who would point out to a future businessman that with his considerable involvement in his profession he would be neglecting his family?

"But women have to put up with such reservations from their friends and acquaintances when they let it be known that they intend to become self-employed. People want to give them a bad conscience," said Eva Odehnal regretfully.

Businesswomen, who have to cope with difficult problems, can find support and advice from experienced colleagues in the Businesswomen's Association.

The organisation in Cologne is the only one of its kind in the Federal Republic. It represents businesswomen and acts as a lobby for their interests.

The association informs the public at large about the achievements of businesswomen. It also collects their suggestions and demands, so that they are given a hearing in political circles.

Eva Odehnal said that since the last tax reform "the regulations have not been to our satisfaction. So we are continuing with our campaign for men themselves would never think of taking up the matter." *Ingrid Füller*

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